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by the authors of children's
literature 1780-1855.

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTEDPh.D.....

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED1977.....

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ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PURSUIT OF GAMES
AND PASTIMES IN CHILDHOOD,
AS PORTRAYED BY THE AUTHORS OF
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE 1780-1855

by



DENISE PALMER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1977

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Attitudes Toward the Pursuit of Games and Pastimes as Portrayed by the Authors of Children's Literature 1780-1855," submitted by Denise Palmer in partial fulfillment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study has been to examine children's literature published in England 1780-1855 and to identify author attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood. With some exceptions the authors were selected from the list of principal and minor writers in The new Cambridge bibliography of children's literature and the books located in the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books in Toronto, Canada.

The review of the beliefs and values reflected in the stories is presented within two time periods 1780-1825 and 1825-1855. In this way trends in the attitudes of the authors could be identified and associated with the prevailing patterns of thought in nineteenth century society, namely: Evangelicalism, Naturalism, Philosophical Radicalism, and Romanticism. Excerpts from the literature which depict these points of view have been incorporated into the text of the thesis.

An analysis of the two periods showed that the attitudes which the authors portrayed in their writing were essentially positive and persisted throughout the time period. In utilizing the attractive setting of children's games to inculcate morals and manners they prescribed and reinforced the place of games and pastimes in childhood.

In their stories they increasingly paid attention to the values to be found in the time spent in the pursuit of games. They justified these pursuits as serving not only to ensure health, but also to promote learning and to provide release from tension. In the latter context the sports of childhood often represented, for the author, a nostalgic view of past pleasures and were a reminder that they reflected adult rather than children's values for such activities. The growing adult interest in the games themselves was further reflected in the appearance of books of directions on the rules and a more extensive story content about games.

Throughout the time period various authors demonstrated beliefs which were later to be identified with the social values recognized in games inherent in the Muscular Christian Movement. Their attitudes clearly favoured activity for the good child, particularly the boy, and encouraged competition pursued in a manly and honorable manner. Though they did not frown upon activity for health reasons for girls the authors did little to promote female participation in games.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the guidance and personal interest which members of the committee have given during the production of this thesis. My grateful thanks are also due to my family, friends, and colleagues without whose continual support this work could not have been accomplished. I am particularly grateful for the guidance given by Peter Lindsay whose re-assurance has steadied the writing stage on its way; to Ruth Bryant whose generous assistance with reading has been a continual source of encouragement; and to my mother who like so many mothers can never do too much for her "children."

A special thankyou is due to Miss Judith St. John and her staff at the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books in Toronto. Their professional advice and willing co-operation when I was seeking appropriate Primary Source material could not have been done without. I trust that my work may in some small way repay those responsible for this collection.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The tools that men use or the food they eat may determine the chances of survival of a people; the games they play or the stories they read may determine the character of a nation.¹

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The authors of children's literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century intended, through their stories, to inculcate in the children for whom they wrote beliefs and values acceptable to their society.² Their attitudes, evidenced in the content of the books they wrote, tend to reflect the attitudes of the culture to which they belonged.³ In this study the purpose has been primarily to identify the attitudes of the authors

¹J. Reese Strayer, "Introduction," in J. Reese Strayer ed., The interpretation of history (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), p. 6.

²The explanatory titles of their stories leave no doubt of this intention; for example, see Scenes for the young; or pleasing tales calculated to promote good manners and a love of virtue, in children by Isaac Day, and The village school; or a collection of entertaining histories for the instruction and amusement of all good children by Dorothy Kilner.

³Milton C. Albrecht, "Does literature reflect common values?" American Sociological Review, 21:722-729, 1956; see also Gillian Avery, Nineteenth century children. Heroes and heroines in English children's stories 1780-1900 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965), p. 227.

toward the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood and secondarily to identify and interpret changes which occurred in those attitudes over the time period 1780-1855. The terms games and pastimes have been limited to those activities which contain a physical activity component.

The extent of the study is limited to selected children's literature published in England during that time. The term "children's literature" covers those books which were written to be read by children for their pleasure and amusement, rather than for formal instruction, though there was always a clearly defined moral intention.⁴ With few exceptions, authors and texts were selected from the Cambridge list of major and minor authors and works of the time.⁵ Preference was given to stories as opposed to poetry and books of instruction as it was here that authors incorporated more realistic observations on children and their activities. Fairy tales, which had gained acceptance

⁴F.J. Darton, Children's books in England (Cambridge: University Press, 1966. 1st publ., 1932), p. 1. Darton meant by the term "Works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure, and not primarily to teach them, nor solely to make them good, nor to keep them profitably quiet." He refers to Newbery's A little pretty pocket book (1744) in which most of the book is taken up with pictures of children playing games as the commencement of the time when children's books stood out by themselves as a branch of English literature.

⁵"Children's books," The new Cambridge bibliography of English literature (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), 3, cc. 1085-1110.

in English literature during the time period studied, were included when relevant to the theme.⁶ Current encyclopaedic-type books on games and pastimes, written specifically for children, and designed to fill their leisure hours in a worthy manner were studied but Alphabets and general "Books of Instruction" which covered school books, primers and Bible instruction were omitted. The choice of children's literature as a source of information for this study can be justified by Commager's belief that the literature written for children contains not only a continuous record of childhood, but also a continuous record of the beliefs and values that society wished to instill into the succeeding generation.⁷ Also Coveney and others have expressed the opinion that nowhere is the increasing sensitivity toward childhood more significantly seen than in

⁶George Sampson, "Children's books," in The concise history of English literature (3rd ed., rev.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 512.

⁷Henry Steele Commager, "Introduction to the first edition," in Cornelia Meigs et al., A critical history of children's literature (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. xvii; see also Paul Hazard, Books, children and men (4th ed.; Boston: The Horn Book Co., 1960); William Stafford, A statement for readers, teachers, and writers of literature, friends to the ground. A statement of the commission on literature, National Council of Teachers of English (Champaign: Illinois, 1967), pp. 10-11; and Johnson, Edna et al. Anthology of children's literature (4th ed.; New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970), pp. 755, 1148.

the literature actually written for children.⁸ For the historian of games and pastimes this body of literature offers a virtually unexplored source of information. Though children's literature existed before 1780 it was not until this time that publishers began to commission named authors to write for the young.⁹ From this time the body of children's literature became a substantial source of information on attitudes toward childhood which had not previously been available. The period 1780-1855, selected for this study, is distinctive in terms of its concern with these attitudes.¹⁰ 1855 represents a final dividing line

⁸Peter Coveney, The image of childhood. The individual and society; a study of English literature (rev. ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 49; see also Peter J. Miller, "Early nineteenth century concepts of childhood," Journal of Education (British Columbia), 17:22, 1971; J.H. Van den Berg, The changing nature of man (New York: Delta Books, 1964), p. 23; and Sheila Egoff, "Precepts and pleasures: changing emphases in the writing and criticism of children's literature," in Only connect readings on children's literature, eds. Sheila Egoff et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 419-446.

⁹Avery, p. 7; Elizabeth Rigby, "Books for children," Quarterly Review, 74:2, 1844; see also Percy Muir, English children's books 1600-1900 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 82.

¹⁰Milton C. Albrecht, "The relationship of literature and society," American Journal of Sociology, 1954, 59 (5), 426; see also Avery, p. 14; Stafford; Amy Barter Cruse, The Englishman and his books in the early nineteenth century (London: George Harrap, 1930), p. 12; Miller; and the discussion of the Ten Hours Act of 1847 in J.L. Hammond, The growth of common enjoyment (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 10.

between the old moral tale and its soulful didacticism and the modern children's books¹¹ clearly established in such publications as Tom Brown's School Days (1857) and the innumerable juvenile periodicals which appeared on the market after this time.¹²

Apart from the work of the Opies, Children's games in street and playground, which includes historical background on the origins of specific games played by children today, the games and pastimes of children have received only peripheral attention from the social historian.¹³ Resources such as the classic publication by Strutt in 1801 on the sports and pastimes of English people, concentrated mainly

¹¹Anne Thaxter Eaton, "Widening horizons, 1840-1890," in Meigs, p. 155; see also Sampson, p. 513.

¹²Philippe Ariès, "Games, fashions and society," in The world of children (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1966), p. 106; see also David Newsome, Godliness and good learning, Four studies, on a Victorian ideal (London: John Murray, 1961), p. 208; and Eric Quayle, The Collector's book of children's books (London: Studio Vista Publishers, 1971), p. 87.

¹³Iona and Peter Opie, Children's games in street and playground (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); see also Philippe Ariès, Centuries of childhood: a social history of family life. Translated by Robert Baldick (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1962; Alice Morse Earle, Child life in colonial days (New York: Macmillan, 1953. 1st publ., 1899); Vernon Bartlett, "Child's play," The past of pastimes (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), pp. 56-68; and Nigel Temple, Seen and not heard. A garland of fancies for Victorian children (London: Hutchinson, 1970), pp. 157-190.

on adult pursuits.¹⁴ The study of children's games and pastimes in the nineteenth century and before has been limited by the sparsity of recorded oral reminiscence. Hence, for the historian, the pertinent content of the literature written for them offers an important source of information for the time period. In referring to the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood the authors undoubtedly carried into their work responses to experiences in their own childhood. Furthermore, they expressed beliefs and values about the children's leisure occupations, which they observed around them. Children's games and pastimes do not exist in isolation from other aspects of child life.¹⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that the author's attention to games and pastimes reflected the social and cultural milieu and also the contemporary theories of educational and social change in which childhood was viewed essentially as a period of construction for the future.¹⁶

¹⁴Joseph Strutt, Sports and pastimes of the English people (London: William Reeves, publ., 1801). Strutt devotes one of the later chapters in his book to children's activities. However it should be noted that there was little distinction between adult and children's games made prior to the latter half of the eighteenth century.

¹⁵Brian Sutton-Smith, "Cross-cultural study of children's games," American Philosophical Society Year Book, 1961, p. 427.

¹⁶Miller, p. 23.

In contrast with earlier publications for children, those of 1780-1855 dwelt more upon the standards of behaviour associated with the pursuit of games and pastimes and with attitudes expressed towards the pursuits themselves. The writings therefore offer a potential contribution to the understanding of adult views upon the attraction, fascination and function of such occupations for children.

Folklorists such as Gomme and Newell dealt with the late Victorian era and the peculiarities of the singing game.¹⁷ Together with the historian, Strutt, they dwelt more upon the description of the rules and pattern of the game than the action or standards of behaviour expected of those who played. To a notable extent the authors of children's literature during the time period, 1780-1855, described the children's pursuit of games and pastimes primarily in terms of adult standards of behaviour and adult responses to them. They seldom provided descriptions of the rules of the games but rather gave interpretations of what participation should be like.¹⁸ Their approach,

¹⁷Alice Bertha Gomme, The traditional games of England, Scotland and Ireland. Two volumes, (New York: Dover, 1964. 1st publ., 1894-1898); and William Wells Newell, Games and songs of American children (New York: Dover, 1963. 1st publ., 1883).

¹⁸The encyclopaedic-type books which appeared after 1825 were an exception to this.

consequently, offers the social historian an opportunity to explore traditional behaviour associated with these childhood interests.

In the history of literature the years 1780-1855 approximate an era in which the content of children's books changed from moral and didactic tales to stories intended to bring enjoyment and characters reflective of realistic children.¹⁹ This change occurred simultaneously with the changes in sensibility and thought about childhood which gathered momentum in the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁰ At the beginning of the period the authors viewed their characters solely as the transmitters of the moral standards and behaviour to which all children must conform. The suggestive names, Lord Linger, Trusty, Mrs. Teachum, were indicative of this. By the end of the period, which coincided with the middle of the nineteenth century, children in the literature no longer served exclusively as a medium for moral lessons but had emerged from comparative unimportance as characters to assume the central focus of the stories.²¹

¹⁹F.J. Darton, "Children's books," in The Cambridge history of English literature (Cambridge: University Press, 1913), XI, pp. 386-387.

²⁰Miller, p. 22; see also Coveney, p. 29; and Ariès, "Games fashions," p. 105.

²¹Eaton, p. 155 ff; see also Quayle, p. 87.

Children's literature during the years 1780-1855 reflected social, political, intellectual and economic movements in England.²² It was a time during which the ferment of ideas and recurrent social unrest was accompanied by strenuous activity and great inventiveness in all aspects of society.²³ The rural-urban shift of population and the simple increase in the numbers of children in the population inevitably created an increased interest among educators in the significance of childhood experiences. However, with the realization that it was possible, as never before, to rise in the world by one's own strenuous efforts, the question of how time was spent during this constructive period of childhood moved from a position of marginal significance to society to one of major concern.²⁴ The question of how this time was used inevitably involved some consideration of the pursuit of games and pastimes.

The social and political implications of the time period selected for the study are numerous. It was a time

²²Edgell Rickword, "The social setting (1780-1830)," in The Pelican guide to English literature. V, 11; see also Bess Porter Adams, About books and children. Historical survey of children's literature (New York: Henry Holt, 1953), p. 6.

²³David Thomson, England in the nineteenth century, 1815-1914 (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1950), p. 30; see also Rickword, pp. 18-21.

²⁴Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian frame of mind. 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 6.

when revolutionary ideas in France were viewed by the English first with favour and then with concern. The French Revolution and its aftermath of violence led, in England, to a mistrust of French ideas and, for some time, noticeable repression of English Radicalism.²⁵ For the conservative English, the sudden upheaval of traditional authority which it represented, and the serious questions of the rights of man which it raised, were laden with fearful dilemmas.²⁶ However, by the latter half of the period under review internal peace and prosperity had been enjoyed by almost a generation of Englishmen. There had arisen a renewed faith in progress and a spirit of optimism prevailed which sought a new era of humanitarianism with the greatest good for the greatest number as its goal.²⁷ At the same time the concept of noblesse oblige was retained. Though the habits of the aristocracy and gentry showed little change, conditions for other Englishmen did. Quinlan suggests that "by 1830 the standards of most Englishmen were remarkably

²⁵Maurice Quinlan, Victorian prelude, a history of English manners 1700-1830 (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1965), p. 81; see also Miriam Brady Kramnick, "Introduction" in A vindication of the rights of women, by Mary Wollstonecraft (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1975. 1st publ., 1792), pp. 15, 46.

²⁶Kramnick, pp. 15, 46.

²⁷G.M. Young, Portrait of an Age (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 1.

different from those of the preceding generation."²⁸ The Sunday School Society, established in 1785, had been received enthusiastically by those whose chief desire was to educate the poor to conform to a set of mores approved for them.²⁹ But, as a result of the ensuing spread of literacy together with the impact of revolutionary and scientific thought of the time, long prevailing customs were brought to an end.³⁰

The lingering Evangelical belief in the child of original sin was to be challenged by the less spiritual belief that cherished dreams of human progress were reconcilable with the new science and spirit of industrialism. In the early decades Evangelical discipline dominated society and fostered the belief that it was cruelty rather than kindness to educate a child beyond his station.³¹ These values were to be challenged as man and economics, not God, were deemed responsible for the sorting

²⁸Quinlan, p. 256.

²⁹S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton, A short history of educational ideas (London: University Tutorial Press, 1966), p. 261.

³⁰Rickword, pp. 20-29; see also Quinlan, p. 51.

³¹John McLeish, Evangelical religion and popular education, a modern interpretation (London: Methuen, 1969), p. 90 ff.

out of the "haves" and the "have-nots".³² By 1855 there was a certain balance in order and change in the society and as the historian Briggs stated, "a wise man would choose the 1850's to be young in."³³ A mild and loving God who was forgiving in his nature had replaced the God whose fires of hell and brimstone threatened every move.³⁴ The public schools had accepted the purpose of turning the middle class child into a gentleman and a business man.³⁵ In effect, there existed a growing belief in man's power to control the environment and direct the future, by moulding the child.³⁶

³²G.M. Young, Portrait of an age. Victorian England (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 10; see also Houghton, pp. 4-8; and Viola Klein, The feminine character. History of an ideology (London: Kegan Paul, 1946), p. 16. Note: Temple, p. 52, comments that the juvenile writers of this time were at pains to point out that this was not so.

³³Asa Briggs, Victorian people. A reassessment of persons and themes 1851-67 (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 16.

³⁴Young, p. 5, has suggested that "Evangelicalism had imposed on society, even on classes which were indifferent to its religious basis and unaffected by its economic appeal, its code of Sabbath observance, responsibility and philanthropy;"

³⁵McLeish, pp. 129-130; see also Louise Francis Field, The child and his book. Some account of the history and progress of children's literature in England (2nd ed.; London: Wells Gardner Darton, 1892), pp. 227, 247.

³⁶Coveney, p. 38; see also Robert Sunley, "Early nineteenth century American literature on child rearing," in Childhood in contemporary cultures, eds. Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 151; see also Gertrude Himmelfarb, Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution (New York: The Norton Library, 1968),

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the innovations which accompanied the Industrial Revolution had successfully wrought social and economic changes which drastically altered the nature of family life.³⁷ The separation of life-style of the adult from the child was accentuated as the traditional economic functions of the family unit were disrupted. These changes reinforced a new ideal for women's role as one of dependence and insignificance.³⁸ Girls were encouraged to be sweet tempered and their proficiency was seen in terms of their roles as companionable wives and domestic organisers rather than as contributors to the economic security of the home. The anti-feminist traditionalists whose views dominated the issue leaned heavily upon the idea of male chivalry.³⁹ These beliefs gave strong support to the ideal of the manly, strong and venturesome qualities as belonging to boyhood.

The attitudes of this era, 1780-1855, including as they do those of the innovative "Early Victorians", are perhaps more closely associated with those of the present

pp. 216-240, in which the publication of The Origin of Species 1859 is discussed in relation to the intellectual movement of the time period of the thesis.

³⁷Houghton, p. 9; see also Himmelfarb, p. 239; and Rickword, p. 16.

³⁸Kramnick, p. 49 ff; ³⁹Kramnick, p. 33.

day than we care to realize.⁴⁰ The religious idealist, the intellectual, and the practical realist, all endeavoured to break through the rigidity of the established tradition so apparent during the first few decades of the study.⁴¹ None could escape the constructive views deployed first by the Philosophical Radicals and later supported by the Evangelicals. Nor could they neglect the sensitive humanism of the Romanticists and the Naturalists often expressed in terms of sentimental nostalgia for the enjoyment of a life free from the constraints of the city and the productivity of the economic scene.⁴² It was in some ways unfortunate that this era also witnessed the increasing emphasis upon the child as an extension of parental ambition and prestige for the family.⁴³

⁴⁰Sunley, pp. 150-151; see also Miller, p. 38; Paul Sangster, Pity my simplicity. The Evangelical revival and religious education of children 1738-1800 (London: The Epworth Press, 1963), p. 23; and Nicholas Hans, New trends in education in the eighteenth century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), p. 209.

⁴¹Hans, p. 209.

⁴²Walter E. Houghton, p. 79; see also Charles A. Babenroth, English Childhood Wordsworth's treatment of childhood in the light of English poetry from Prior to Crabbe (Folcroft, P.A.: The Folcroft Press, 1922), p. 50 ff.; and Young, pp. 2, 4.

⁴³Sunley, p. 151.

RESEARCH ON CHILDREN'S GAMES AND PASTIMES

Existing notable scholarly publications related to the period 1780-1855 about children's games are limited to Strutt's work in 1801, those by Gomme and Newell from the last decades of the nineteenth century and the more recent ones of Sutton-Smith and Iona and Peter Opie.⁴⁴

Sutton-Smith has suggested that the materials collected by Newell (1883) and by Gomme (1894) were actually survivals of an earlier ascriptive game culture which was being followed by ever fewer people.⁴⁵ Their work might be expected to have relevance to this study as the definition of a culture belonging to children, and particularly the designation of games as children's games, was an important aspect of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁴⁶

The Gomme collection, published from 1894-1898,

⁴⁴Strutt; see also Gomme; Newell; and Opie. Note: Other authors whose works deserve attention are John Brand, Paul Brewster, Leslie Daiken and Norman Douglas.

⁴⁵Brian Sutton-Smith, "The two cultures of games," in The folkgames of children (Austin: The American Folklore Society, 1972), p. 300 (Paper first presented 1968). Note: Brian Sutton-Smith is program head of developmental psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University. He has continued to make a scholarly contribution to the field of the psychology of childlore since 1949 when he completed his doctoral study on the games of New Zealand children.

⁴⁶Ariès, "Games, fashions," pp. 105-107; see also Miller, p. 21; Van den Berg, p. 23; and Sutton-Smith, p. 304.

consists of descriptions from memory, rather than from observation. Mrs. Gomme's memories accepted the circumspection of society of the time and the games she reported represent only that part of the play life which "articulate," "proper" Victorian adults accepted as "proper games."⁴⁷ Her interest in singing games further suggests a time focus of her study as being limited to the end of the Victorian era.⁴⁸

Newell, prompted by the belief that children's games of the time were fast disappearing, recorded, with a scholarly attention to detail, the melodies, formulae, rules and prescribed movements of singing games.⁴⁹ His reliance upon adult memory, observation and interviews with the children makes the collection published in 1883 an

⁴⁷Dorothy Howard, "Introduction" in Alice Bertha Gomme, The traditional games of England, Scotland and Ireland (New York: Dover, 1964. 1st publ., 1894-98), viii.

⁴⁸Opie, vii.

⁴⁹Carl Withers, "Introduction" in William Wells Newell, Games and songs of American children (New York: Dover, 1963. 1st publ., 1883), vi. Note: In the preface to her book on girls' diversions Eliza Leslie expressed a similar view when she wrote, "I have often regretted that so many of the diversions which formerly enlivened the leisure hours of very young people should long since have become obsolete, or only to be found in circles which are yet untouched with the folly and affectation of what is called fashion." The girl's book of diversions or occupations for play hours (London: Thomas Tegg, 1835), xv.

invaluable historical resource.⁵⁰ In addition Newell examined collections of children's games from many countries and searched the Greek and Roman classics for accounts of games. Born in 1839 in Massachusetts and for many years a school teacher,⁵¹ he was undoubtedly aware of the publications of children's books on games of the time. However his particular interest in oral tradition and its relation to English and European customs has meant that, as with the Gomme collection, the focus has been on the singing games.

In the last two decades renewed interest in children's literature and memorabilia of the nineteenth century has given a recognized place to items relating to games and pastimes of children.⁵² In contrast to the evidence provided by Gomme this material has focused more on the descriptions of the children at their games. However, the information related to games and pastimes is scattered and it serves only as an example of the sources which exist.

⁵⁰Opie, viii.

⁵¹Withers, ix.

⁵²The recent facsimile edition of Mlle. Saint-Sernin, Healthful sports for young ladies, first translated from the French and published by R. Ackerman in London, 1822, is indicative of this interest. See also Quayle, pp. 74-86; Leonard De Vries, Flowers of Delight. From the Osborne collection of early children's books, 1765-1830 (London: Dennis Dobson, 1965); Temple, pp. 157-190; and Antonia Fraser, A history of toys (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).

The contemporary English Folklorists, Iona and Peter Opie, systematically examined the juvenile books on children's games in the documentation of the origins of the playing patterns in children's street and playground games.⁵³ Theirs is a comprehensive study of individual games, dealing with recognized appeal, preferred age and sex of players, as well as changes in popularity, ritual and location. The text is an invaluable reference to the games named by the children's authors in this thesis. These studies in folklore of childhood have only incidentally dealt with the adult attitudes towards the children's pursuits. More importantly, studies on the changes which have occurred have not dwelt to any extent upon the influence of the adult world in directing or provoking that change. The Opies justifiably criticize the extensive publication of books instructing children in the games they ought to play and of books instructing adults in methods of teaching children to play games they should enjoy.⁵⁴ In fact with few exceptions the publication of books which seek to

⁵³Opie, viii. They noted the failure of historians to utilize these children's books about games.

⁵⁴Opie, i. See also Stone's contention that "physical educators too often have a restricted view of play, exercise and sport, asking only how such activities contribute to the motor efficiency and longevity of the organism." Gregory P. Stone. "The play of little children," in Child's play, eds., Robin E. Herron and Brian Sutton-Smith (New York: John Wiley, 1971. 1st publ., 1965), p. 4.

understand children in play is restricted to the last two decades.⁵⁵

In his comprehensive approach to the historical study of children's games, Sutton-Smith, unlike Gomme, Newell and the Opies has concentrated upon the changes in games.⁵⁶ His belief, which is supported by Van den Berg, Ariès and Miller, has been that changes in the attitudes toward children in the family will be paralleled by changes in the nature of their games.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Sutton-Smith's academic leadership in extending the folklore collection of children's games into the more scientific examination of the functional role of games in culture has brought general acceptance to the theory that games and pastimes are socially significant cultural inventions.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Note: Particularly valuable in this respect are the two recent publications co-authored with Sutton-Smith; Elliot M. Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith, The study of games (New York: John Wiley, 1971), and Robin E. Herron and Brian Sutton-Smith, Child's play, p. 4.

⁵⁶Brian Sutton-Smith and G. Rosenberg, "Sixty years of historical change in the game preferences of American children," in The Folkgames of children, pp. 258-295. (The article was 1st publ., in 1961).

⁵⁷Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg, pp. 18, 296-311; see also Van den Berg, p. 23; Ariès, "Games, fashions," p. 21; Miller, p. 21.

⁵⁸Brian Sutton-Smith, "The two cultures of games," in The Folkgames of children, p. 298; see also Avedon and Sutton-Smith, p. 4.

As such it has been accepted that within the structural function of the game or pastime there exists a model of socialization which aids the participant in meeting the standards of behaviour prompted by the particular culture. The belief in this now scientifically-based socialization model was, in effect, demonstrated by the children's authors of the period 1780-1855 in their endeavours to prescribe the moral standards and mannerly behaviour through the game/pastime situation.⁵⁹

APPROACH

Specific titles of texts by the authors listed in The new Cambridge bibliography of English literature were selected for review. Initially this selection utilized the key words games and pastimes, and titles which suggested that the content might cover such activities were given preference over other titles. It was found that while only a few titles included the words from the theme, stories about school, festivals and holidays usually contained relevant content. However, this was not always so and in many instances several books by an author were perused

⁵⁹The increased attention to the pursuits of games and pastimes during the later part of the eighteenth century is evidenced in the classic publication by Strutt. Though he devoted only a minor chapter specifically to children's interests, he believed that "in order to form a just estimation of the character of any particular people it is absolutely necessary to investigate the Sports and Pastimes most generally prevalent among them." Strutt, xvii.

before any notable content which expressed attitudes towards the theme was located. The resources of the Osborne Collection of early children's books, a search of bibliographies particularly on the history of children's games and a review of anthologies of early children's books were all utilized. In almost all instances an edition of the desired text was held in the Osborne Collection.⁶⁰

In order to document trends within the time period of the study, the total period was separated into two divisions 1780-1825 and 1825-1855. In the history of children's literature this division is associated with the rapid transition from the moralistic and admonishing story to the fantasy tale and school adventure story which occurred following the publication of George Cruikshank's edition of the German Popular Stories by Grimm in 1824.⁶¹ By 1830 the influence of the Sunday School Movement, the spread of literacy, the impact of increased knowledge and scientific thought on the concept which adults held of childhood, had all contributed to the promotion of a new era of manner and morals.⁶²

⁶⁰The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books. 1566-1910. Girls and Boys House, Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁶¹Darton, "Children's books," p. 386.

⁶²Quinlan, pp. 256, 7; see also Houghton, pp. 1-4; and Young, p. 4.

Several authors published continuously across the time of this division. In the belief that authors of children's literature are influenced by recollections of their own childhood, when the evidence was available, they were identified as belonging to one period or the other, according to their date of birth. An author born before 1790 belonged to the first period, while one born after 1790 and before 1820 belonged to the second period. (Tables 7, 8). As editions of some books were published continuously throughout the total time period, the publications were placed in periods on the basis of the date of the first publication. The data from sources from each of the time periods, 1780-1825 and 1825-1855, could then be compared.

For comparative purposes, a summary analysis of content from a sample listing of twenty-five books was drawn for each period, 1780-1825 and 1825-1855.⁶³ These sample lists were matched, as far as possible, in terms of the

⁶³Of approximately two hundred books reviewed thirty-three were actually on the theme. Eight were encyclopaedic or factual in format, listing descriptions and rules for the pursuit of various children's amusements and diversions, including games and pastimes as defined in the study. All texts which dealt extensively with the theme have been so indicated in the bibliography of primary sources. The complete texts of other encyclopaedic books known to have been published during this time period, entitled Youthful sports (1802), School boy's diversions (1820), Boys own book (4th ed., 1829), The boy's treasury of sports, pastimes and recreations (1844), Every boy's book (Wood, 1855), were not available to the researcher.

number of (i) authors drawn from the major and minor Cambridge lists, (ii) texts which had been written specifically on the theme and (iii) authors of either sex (Table 1, 2). The composition of the list of twenty-five books for the first period included almost all available texts which met the first two conditions. Fifteen were essentially stories which incorporated information on games and pastimes and ten dealt wholly with the theme, usually including the term "games" in the title. A larger percentage of the texts reviewed in the second period gave more specific attention to the theme. Therefore, in the selection of a comparable list preference was given to those books which contained story material and to encyclopaedic type books which incorporated commentary on behaviour.

It was more difficult to bring a balance to the sample with regard to the sex of the authors. The preponderance of female authors of children's books in the first period was not reflected in the foundation list for the second period.⁶⁴ In the latter period exception was, therefore, made to include two books by female authors which, though initially published in Boston, appeared in

⁶⁴Over the total time period there was a larger percentage of women authors writing for children than men. However, it was evident that the men were more prone to write extensively on the theme than the women.

English editions within the year.⁶⁵ The inclusion of these particular books, The little girls own book, and the Girl's book of diversions or occupations for play hours, achieved two purposes. Firstly it brought a balance of eight male and seventeen female authors in the first period and nine male, thirteen female and three anonymous authors in the second period (Table 3). Secondly, the encyclopaedic-type content of the books, which was directed toward girls' activities, served to balance two similar publications (in England) which dealt with boys' interests.⁶⁶ The grouping of fifteen stories and the books about games within each period enabled an investigation of the degree to which

⁶⁵ Lydia Maria Child, 1802-1880. The little girl's own book (3rd ed.; London: Thomas Tegg, 1832. 1st publ., in Boston, 1831); Eliza Leslie (Miss), 1787-1858. The girl's book of diversions or occupations for play hours (London: Thomas Tegg, 1835. 1st publ., in Boston, 1831). Note: The earliest comparable publication by women in England is probably one co-authored by Ebenezer and his daughter Alice Landells. The book was entitled The girl's own toymaker and book of recreation and was published in London by Griffith and Farran, in 1860. Another thoroughly delightful book entitled Healthful sports for young ladies, (1820) was translated from the French in 1822. Though it has not been included in the study, it was written by Mme. Sernin and raises important questions of the French influence on the English scene of children's games and pastimes.

⁶⁶ William Martin, 1801-1867. The book of sports for boys and girls (London: Darton, 1853. 1st publ., 1837); see also William Clarke, 1800-1838. The boy's own book: A complete encyclopaedia of all diversions, athletic, scientific and recreative, of boyhood and youth (7th ed.; London: Vizetelly, Branston, 1831), p. 8.

information listed in the encyclopaedic type texts was introduced into the stories.

Considerable research on children's literature has utilized a content analysis approach, particularly when seeking values related to selected themes.⁶⁷ The technique has been employed to generate data from which inferences on aspects of culture and culture change have been made. In this study content analysis has been utilized to support the generalizations which have been forthcoming from the interpretation of the primary source material. In the collation of data, the technique of content analysis was an aid, not a substitute for the interpretation of what was said.⁶⁸ It necessitated the careful reading of the

⁶⁷Carolyn W. Carmichael, "A study of selected social values as reflected in contemporary realistic fiction for children" (Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971); see also R. De Charms and G.H. Moeller, "Values expressed in American children's readers: 1900-1950." Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 64:136-142, 1949; E.V. Estensen, "McGuffey - a statistical analysis," Journal of Educational Research, 39, 6:445-457, 1949; and David K. Gast, "Characteristics and concepts of minority Americans in contemporary children's fictional literature" (Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, Arizona State University, 1965).

⁶⁸The major resource for information on the technique was the comprehensive section content analysis by Ole. R. Holsti in Handbook of social psychology, eds. Gardner Lindzey and Eliot Aronsen (Addison Wesley, 1968), I, pp. 592-692. Note: In addition the approaches in the studies of H.S. Lewin, "Hitler Youth and the Boy Scouts of America, a comparison of aims," Human Relations, 1, 2:206-227, 1947; Helen Martin "Nationalism in children's literature" (Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934); H. Sebald, "Studying national character

primary source material and was appropriate for charting directions of interest related to values.⁶⁹ As historical rhetoric, literary style, and modes of the times had to be accounted for in the interpretation of the historical documents selected for this study it was, for the most part, unrealistic to place too much dependence upon measures of frequency drawn from the content analysis as indicators of intensity of the authors' attitude toward games and pastimes.

Content on the theme ranged in extent from the brief naming of a game or pastime to extensive descriptions of the events within a game. An example of the latter is evident in an episode entitled "Envy the foe of peace" in which the author Mrs. Hurry dwelt upon the behaviour displayed by two ill-mannered girls when their roughness marred the game of Blind Man's Buff. The following narrative provides considerable information about Mrs. Hurry's views on the theme.

Everyone endeavoured to secure a corner, where they sat squat till a titter betrayed their hiding

through comparative content analysis," Social Forces, 40:318-322, 1962; and Lawrence J. Wiberg and Gaston E. Blom, "A cross national study of attitude content in reading primers," International Journal of Psychology, 5(2):109-122, 1970, offered valuable insights for the purposes of this study.

⁶⁹ See the definition of values in the International encyclopaedia of social sciences ed. David L. Sills (Macmillan Co. and Free Press, 1968), 16, pp. 283-287.

place; then they scampered this way and that, fearful of being caught, yet each accelerating the other's danger, by pushing all forward but themselves. It was in this general scuffle that Miss Louisa Otway happened to tread upon her elder sister's foot who resented the accidental misfortune, by giving her a violent blow . . . to see so shocking a sight as two young ladies, sisters, fighting, screaming⁷⁰

She has utilized the scene to portray a moral lesson and further to this it can be deduced that the game is one which could be enjoyable if the players were well behaved. As with most authors, Mrs. Hurry was more disapproving of rough and unmannerly behaviour from girls and failed to direct criticism toward the behaviour displayed by boys. Her selection of Blind Man's Buff suggests that such games were approved on party occasions. Within the context of the story this particular content informs the researcher that the author approved this game for girls and boys together, providing the play proceeded without fighting. Later in the book Mrs. Hurry comments very severely upon indulged young ladies who quarrel and lose their tempers.

Another example of content is taken from the legendary work The Fairchild family, by the renowned author

⁷⁰[Margaret (Mitchell) Hurry], Tales of Instruction and Amusement (London: J. Harris, 1807. 1st publ., 1795), p. 129.

Mrs. Sherwood.⁷¹ Here she has highlighted her insight into the enjoyment which children have from movement, though her intention was, as ever, to give a moral lesson on the importance of obedience.

. . . Henry spied a swing, which Mr. Fairchild had made in the barn for the children, but which he never allowed them to use when he was not with them because swings are very dangerous things, unless there are very careful persons to use them. The seat of the swing was tied up to the side of the barn, above the children's reach, as Mr. Fairchild thought.

"Oh, Lucy!" said Henry, "there is the swing. There can be no harm in our swinging a little. If Papa was here, I am sure he would let us swing. If you and Emily will help to lift me up, I will untie it and let it down, and then we will swing so nicely."

So Emily and Lucy lifted Henry up, and he untied the swing, and let it down into its right place; . . . they got one by one into the swing, and amused themselves for some time without any mischance . . . "Now, Lucy," she (Emily) said, "swing me high, and I will shut my eyes; you can't think how pleasant it is to swing with one's eyes shut. Swing me higher! Swing me higher!"

So she went on calling to Lucy, and Lucy trying to swing her higher and higher, till at last the swing turned, and down came Emily to the floor . . .⁷²

⁷¹It is reported in the Dictionary of national biography, that "most children of the English middle classes, born in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, were brought up on The Fairchild family."

⁷²Mary Martha Sherwood, 1775-1851. The history of the Fairchild family: or, the child's manual; being a collection of stories calculated to show the importance and effects of a religious education (London: J. Hatchard, 1847-1848. 1st publ., in three parts, 1818-1847), p. 46. Note: Mrs. Sherwood continued to publish throughout the period of the study. In her later stories she shows less interest in the games and pastimes for girls.

Within the setting of the story this misadventure is but one of many which befall the children through their heedless disobedience. On this occasion the child is not grievously harmed, and the lesson having been learnt, all three are forgiven. As in the previous example, the intent has been to instill moral values. The author has portrayed the boy as the leader, though one of the girls is surprisingly adventuresome. Swings, as they are today, were regarded as dangerous except when used with care. Further, the author's description of the exploits of Emily captured the keen sense of enjoyment in the motion of the swing. Considering all three children were party to the disobedient act it is interesting to note that it is the girl to whom the mishap occurs. Again, as in the previous example, the boy's misbehaviour is to some extent passed over. The moral lesson of obedience is familiarly demonstrated in the catastrophe which follows their failure to obey the father's instructions. While Mrs. Sherwood dwelt more upon the experience of the activity and her story is more entertaining than Mrs. Hurry's, in both instances there was an essentially positive response to the idea of participation by children in games and pastimes.

As the above examples **demonstrate**, it was necessary to extend the context unit to the publication as a whole before interpretation of a specific incident. Statements in the preface or introduction, information gleaned from

other works by the same author and biographical information were checked, when available, for confirmation as decisions were made about the communications. The technique of content analysis provided supportive summary statements of selected elements in the content, particularly in such areas as sex role attention and names of games. However, it did not offer appropriate material for the assessment and interpretation of the individually selective and biased author attitudes, which needed a wider range of testimony than that provided by the books.

A study of attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood has a practical as well as a theoretical significance. Not only can it contribute to cultural history but it can also help to make us aware of the precedents which remain dynamically related to the physical education of children. Instead of viewing games as phenomena merely reflecting earlier cultural practices, modern scientific analysis suggests rather that games are always essentially representative of the life and times of those who play them.⁷³ While sources of information about games and behaviour associated with games can be found in

⁷³Brian Sutton-Smith, "The folk games of the children," in Our living traditions. An introduction to American Folklore, ed., Tristram Potter Coffin (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1968), pp. 179-191.

a wide range of documents,⁷⁴ the conscious and unconscious observations and attitudes recorded in literature written for children has a particularly unique value. Undoubtedly, the authors were influenced by their own childhood experiences and by their observations of the behaviour of children around them. But, as Coveney found in his study of childhood in literature written for adults, it became apparent that the author's attitudes toward the pursuits of childhood were closely related to their attitudes toward life.⁷⁵ At the time of the study significantly different views regarding childhood were prevalent in the society.⁷⁶ The four major movements were those of Evangelicalism, Philosophical Radicalism, Naturalism and Romanticism. Evangelical beliefs of self-discipline were dominant over the major portion of the time and a number of the best known children's authors of this time were supportive of Evangelical beliefs.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, to try to define the attitudes of the

⁷⁴For the time period 1780-1855 these include, the novel, poetry, periodicals, and other publications for children, books about children, diaries, toys, and art.

⁷⁵Coveney, p. 12; see also Houghton, xvii.

⁷⁶Houghton, xvii; see also Miller, p. 21; and Young, p. 4.

⁷⁷These included Hannah More, Sarah Trimmer, Dorothy Kilner, Mrs. Sherwood, and Lady Ellenor Fenn.

authors without recourse to what they themselves said on a particular topic is to lose the particular colour and tone with which their messages were communicated to their readers.⁷⁸ For this reason initial emphasis in the study has been given to the words of the authors and consequently to the prevailing movements which motivated their particular attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes of childhood. In presenting the thesis, background chapters portraying the time and the publication scene are followed by reviews of the evidence from the two time periods 1780-1825 and 1825-1855. The final chapter includes a summary and discussion of the attitudes of the authors, conclusions and recommendations arising from the research. The extensive bibliography covers complete titles and, where available, relevant publication information.

⁷⁸Houghton, xv.

Chapter II

THE CHILDHOOD MILIEU

THE SOCIAL SETTING 1780-1855

By the end of the eighteenth century it is generally accepted that a radically new world of childhood had been discovered or more accurately had been created. As it continued to evolve "the tasks of charting its boundaries and mapping its more obvious features" commanded considerable attention.¹ An important stage in the demarcation of childhood was the evolution of a new community of children's games and pastimes.² As a result of diversified forces this metamorphosis which was occurring in society surfaces in the adult views expressed in children's literature about 1780. Progress in medical hygiene and technology, which brought a decrease in child mortality rates, meant that not only were there more children in the population but that those who cared for them could plan with a greater sense of security for their

¹Peter J. Miller, "Early nineteenth century concepts of childhood," Journal of Education. British Columbia, 17:21, 1971; see also Brian Sutton-Smith, "The two cultures of games," in The folk-games of children by Brian Sutton-Smith (Austin: The American Folklore Society, 1972), p. 304.

²Philippe Ariès, Centuries of childhood. A social history of family life (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1962), p. 62 ff.

future.³

The emergence in the cities of the middle class family, as distinct from the more extended family of the country estate, provoked a greater interest or investment in the individual child and his future.⁴ Developments in the printing industry and improved communication aided the circulation of increasing amounts of literature about children and the spread of educational ideas, particularly those of Locke.⁵ Thoughts on the role of children in society were similarly stimulated by the social reformers who accentuated the innocent quality of childhood and encouraged adults of the upper and new middle classes to assume a responsibility not only for their protection but also for the organization of their life and education.⁶

³William Kessen, The child (New York: John Wiley, 1965), p. 3. Note: Charles Morazé in The triumph of the middle classes (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), pp. 107-113, emphasizes that it was advance in hygiene, food, diet, clothes, removal of heavy curtains etc. rather than medical advances which were responsible.

⁴Miller, p. 22; see also Charles Morazé, pp. 112-113.

⁵S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton, A short history of educational ideas (4th ed.; London: London University Tutorial Press, 1966), p. 260; see also John Locke: Some thoughts concerning education, ed. F.W. Garforth (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1964), p. 234.

⁶Brian Simon, Studies in the history of education 1780-1870 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960), pp. 44-45.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the separation of the adult world from the life of the child was established. As Ariès had indicated games and pastimes which had been shared by old and young alike (as semi-sacred rituals involving the whole community) were clearly differentiated along age lines.⁷ Children were now distinguished from adults by their dress, their books and, as the time period of the study progresses, by their absence from home and attendance at school.⁸

Between 1780 and 1855 there arose an increasing emphasis on the child of the new middle class family as representative of the parent's status in society.⁹ The task of child rearing was looked upon more frequently as a rational process where certain results were believed to be the outcome of certain methods.¹⁰ The desired man was

⁷Philippe Ariès, "Games, fashions and society," in The world of children, ed. Paul Hamlyn (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1966), p. 105.

⁸Edgar Osborne, "Children's books in the nineteenth century," Junior Bookshelf, 2:63, 1937; see also Iris Brookes, English children's costumes since 1775 (London: A. and C. Black, 1949), pp. 7-9; Miller, p. 22.

⁹Robert Sunley, "Early nineteenth century American literature on child rearing," in Childhood in contemporary cultures, eds. Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 151.

¹⁰Sunley, p. 151.

to be a moral, honest, religious and independent individual who would take his place in society; the woman was to be submissive and respectable.- Changes in parental responsibility in child-rearing followed. The mother's responsibility became paramount, contrasting with the father's which rapidly declined as he became increasingly preoccupied with business and more frequently isolated from the home environment.¹¹ At the same time the contribution of the school in the socialization of boys and to a lesser extent girls assumed an ever increasing importance.¹²

During the period of the study, 1780-1855, the middle class became an economic force and largely on the basis of this economic viability assumed political and social significance in the community.¹³ In consequence of these developments, the value of time as an economic commodity, including that spent in childhood, gained more

¹¹See discussion in Sunley, pp. 162-163; G.M. Young, Portrait of an age. Victorian England (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 3, 91; and Viola Klein, The feminine character. History of an ideology (London: Kegan Paul, 1946), p. 18 ff.

¹²David Newsome, Godliness and good learning. Four studies on a Victorian ideal (London: John Murray, 1961), p. 35.

¹³Newsome, p. 34; Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian frame of mind. 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 5.

and more importance.¹⁴ Not only were there more children in evidence but the manner in which they occupied their time increasingly absorbed the interest of the adult world. Changes in family life were apparent as the new middle class moved from rural to urban areas to live.¹⁵ The eighteenth century movement for religious enlightenment and adult literacy which was in itself innovative brought to the fore a new force of social change.¹⁶ This force in the form of children's literature gradually appeared as an accepted aspect of the experiences open to children.¹⁷ As boys and girls were being taught to read, books were written to instruct and amuse them. The event of mass

¹⁴Note: See Ariès, p. 105 for discussion on developments in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution which led to changes in the conception of play and the function of games; Also Houghton, pp. 5-8, who said that the whole tempo of living increased and in comparison the first decades were quiet and comfortable.

¹⁵Young, pp. 22-24; Miriam Brady Kramnick, "Introduction" in A vindication of the rights of woman, by Mary Wollstonecraft (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1975. 1st publ., 1792), pp. 29-39.

¹⁶See discussion in John McLeish, Evangelical religion and popular education (London: Methuen, 1969). The link between the heightened sensitivity to children and the appearance of the Romanticist is implied in the conclusions drawn by McLeish, p. 175.

¹⁷William Stafford, A statement for readers, teachers, and writers of literature. Friends to the ground (A statement of the commission on literature, National Council of Teachers of English. Champaign, Illinois, 1967), pp. 10-14.

literacy, which accompanied the rapid advancement in scientific knowledge of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, provoked this separation of the child from the experienced and knowledgeable adult. This situation was typified in the establishment of the formal school setting with its age groupings and teachers.

During this time, 1780-1855, the educational theories of Locke, Rousseau and the social and economic theories of Bentham and Mill challenged the traditional child-rearing practices of the middle classes at almost every point.¹⁸ The significance of games and pastimes was questioned as never before. Those adults who were devoted to the task of the education of children were able to share their understanding of the nature of childhood with the newly literate society.¹⁹ Because they undertook

¹⁸ Sunley, p. 151; see also A. Charles Babenroth, English childhood Wordsworth's treatment of childhood in the light of English poetry (Rpt. 1969, Folcroft: The Folcroft Press, 1922), p. 161; Simon, p. 193. Note: Simon suggests that from 1813 onward efforts were made to educate children with the clear purpose of bringing up the coming generation with a new set of moral values as harbingers of a new society. It is considered by some historians that Locke in fact recorded what were in fact the accepted patterns of child-rearing followed by the Aristocracy of the seventeenth century.

¹⁹ Bess Porter Adams, About books and children, historical survey of children's literature (New York: Henry Holt, 1953), p. 57. Note: The evidence of the period 1780-1855 supports Margaret Mead's view that interest in child-rearing literature is indicative of a changing society. Margaret Mead and Margaret Wolfenstein eds. Childhood in

to both instruct and to amuse, the authors of children's literature must be included among these influential adults. They represent a unique body whose attitudes toward such amusements as games and pastimes are extremely valuable in that their work served either to reinforce or to challenge commonly accepted views in the society.²⁰

Based for the most part upon precepts of physical and mental health the utilitarian significance which was now attached to the pursuits of games and pastimes in childhood was in sharp contrast with the bleak Puritan view of life that amusement was both a sin against the law of God and a sin against the law of commerce.²¹ Those who had been reticent about speaking of such trivia as games and pastimes were now prodded into action by the oft

contemporary cultures (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 145.

²⁰D.W. Harding, The character of literature from Blake to Byron in The Pelican guide to English literature (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957), V:33. Note: It is interesting that at age six Thomas Hughes and his brother then eight wrote to Maria Edgeworth about one of her stories; Edward C. Mack and W.H.G. Armytage, Thomas Hughes, The life of the author of Tom Brown's school days (London: Earnest Benn, 1952), pp. 10-11.

²¹J.L. Hammond, The Growth of common enjoyment (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 8; see also Maurice J. Quinlan, Victorian prelude, a history of English manners. 1700-1830 (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1965), p. 256 ff.

repeated advice of well known educators.²² They responded to views that children must be permitted to divert themselves after their own fashion.²³ Suitable games for children should be short and their physical exercise and games should be refreshing to the body and the mind.²⁴ Beliefs which claimed that the pursuit of physical activity in games offered training to the senses as well as opportunities for children to acquire knowledge of their own natures prevailed.²⁵ Furthermore educational theories suggested to them that constructive and instrumental values were inherent in the child's natural inclination to play.²⁶ In keeping with the tenor of the time, the adults were anxious to see time spent in the pursuit of games and

²²They showed not only a more serious concern with the insights of childhood, but also a willingness to explore the less conscious aspects of feeling and emotion. See Harding, pp. 34, 48; and Miller, p. 24.

²³John Locke, p. 227. Note: Although the following views have been identified specifically they can all in fact be supported in the works of Locke and Rousseau.

²⁴Francois Fénelon, 1651-1715. On the education of daughters. Translated from the French, 1687 (London: W. Darton, jun., 1812), Tract II, p. 370.

²⁵Jean Jacques Rousseau. His educational theories selected from Emile Julie and other writings, ed. R.L. Archer (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1964), pp. 15, 122; see also Simon, p. 262. Note: The educational theory of the Chartist, William Lovett (1839-40), placed particular importance on the playground activities and the development of character.

²⁶John Locke, p. 227; see also Jean Jacques Rousseau, p. 122.

pastimes in association with the demands of moral (self restraint) and intellectual (rational understanding) education.

As children (particularly boys) were sent away to school, they were exposed to a wider range of games which attracted them.²⁷ As a consequence, there developed the need to formulate a new system of beliefs relating to these playground games. As the Englishman of the 1830's had made no notable provision for space in the city in which to pursue games and outdoor pastimes, those who had previously enjoyed exercise in the natural surroundings of the country had to seek alternatives within the urban setting.²⁸ This provoked further interest in values of health and relaxation related to recreative pursuits.

As the influence of the social reformer Bentham

²⁷Improvements in communication and the Railways made travel to school and for sea-side holidays more accessible. However, the education of girls at this time had neither clearly defined aims nor a system of schools to rival that of the boys. Nicholas Hans, New trends in education in the eighteenth century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), p. 208.

²⁸D.C. Somervell in English thought in the nineteenth century (6th ed.; London: Methuen, 1950), p. 114, has said of the townsman, "with only a few acres of grass available, he needs a ball . . . with or without a bat . . . if he is to amuse himself with so confined a space." See also Edgell Rickword, The social setting (1780-1830) in The Pelican guide to English literature (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957), V:24.

and the agitation for useful and practical education gained impetus, the idea of the attendance at school, in conjunction with, if not in preference to, education at home, became more acceptable.²⁹ In the new upper and middle class family, where business demands now left the father with little time to undertake the education of his sons, school and social training provided through being with other boys gained more approval. Furthermore, by the late 1820's school was seen in social terms as the contact point for members of the new middle class and the gentry.³⁰ It was here that brothers, and to a lesser extent sisters, made friends which eventually led through marriage to an acceptance into the social class for the whole family. The school friend invited home for the holiday might be the prospective marriage partner for the sisters of the family. Not only did the school playground become the familiar observation point for adults interested in children but their physical prowess and ability to participate in the

²⁹Simon, p. 118; see also Babenroth, p. 185. Note: In the early period there was greater support for the home in preference to the school. See Rousseau, Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Barbauld. Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of Charles Darwin, wrote a book in support of girls' schools, Erasmus Darwin, 1731-1802. A plan for the conduct of female education in boarding schools (Facs. rpt., 1968; Derby: J. Drewry, 1797).

³⁰Asa Briggs, Victorian people. A reassessment of persons and themes 1851-67 (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1965), p. 152.

games and pastimes of the playground became attributes of behaviour which attracted adult attention. Social acceptance on the playing fields became an increasingly important factor as the members of the new middle class, assured and competent in their manner, began to restrict membership.³¹

The period, 1780-1855, remarkable for its diverse outlooks and systems of values, absorbed into the culture of childhood interests, inclinations which had not previously received attention.³² Among these were those implicitly approved in the Ten Hours Act of 1847 which recognized the right of all children to leisure time.³³ This gave substance to an appreciation of the value of games and pastimes already evidenced in the habit of the upper middle class families of setting aside a part of each

³¹Hans, p. 211. Note: There is evidence that social mobility in the eighteenth century was in some respects greater than in the middle of the nineteenth century when the new middle class blocked the way for newcomers from below.

³²Harding, p. 40.

³³J.L. Hammond, The growth of common enjoyment (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 10-11. Hammond highlights this act as demonstrative of the belief that leisure was no longer the absolute monopoly of a class and the modest beginning of a revolution in English life and thought.

day for recreation.³⁴ The sombreness of the period 1780-1825 was gradually lost in the moral optimism which was apparent in the later period, 1825-1855.³⁵

Though the predominant Evangelical discipline, secularized as respectability, had created a force of social disapproval which daunted even the boldest figures into a pattern of earnest application to whatever they chose to pursue,³⁶ a new consciousness influenced by increased feeling for all helpless things, had effected a milder approach to the discipline of children.³⁷ Adults granted to the child the benefit of being "ignorant of right rather than bent to be wrong".³⁸ Consequently, it is not surprising that justice and understanding materialized in child-rearing practices where formerly terror, damnation and submission of the will had

³⁴Janet Dunbar, The early Victorian woman: some aspects of her life. 1837-1857 (London: Harrap, 1953), p. 35.

³⁵Maurice J. Quinlan, Victorian prelude, a history of English manners. 1700-1830 (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1965. 1st publ., 1941), p. 81; see also Houghton, pp. 54, 261, 297-304.

³⁶Young, pp. 4-5.

³⁷Young, pp. 2-5; see also Sunley, pp. 159-163.

³⁸Sunley, p. 161.

prevailed.³⁹ Furthermore, the growing cognizance of the innocence of children led adults to look more analytically at the formative power of the experiences of childhood. They sought among other things an understanding of the potential benefits of time devoted to the natural pursuits of games and pastimes. These experiences so obviously enjoyed by many children were no longer belittled as unworthy of notice.⁴⁰ The important values in English society were those of respectability, intellectual prowess and productivity. Concern for these values partially explain the endeavour of adults of the period to seek moral and intellectual benefits, in addition to those of health, in the time devoted to games and pastimes. The extent to which particular values were supported, reflected the prevailing ideas about childhood.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century it was

³⁹ Sunley, pp. 159-163; see also David Thompson, England in the nineteenth century 1815-1914 (Penguin Books, 1950), p. 69; Young, p. 4; Somervell, p. 25. Note: In 1818 in The Fairchild family Mrs. Sherwood portrayed for the children's edification of the outcomes of stealing, the horrors of the gallows and the Blackwood Prison. See Percy Muir, English children's books, 1600-1900 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 89, who considers hers a truly appalling book.

⁴⁰ However, as Hazard and Adams are careful to point out, the authors of children's literature of the time were lacking in genuine awareness of the real child. Adams, p. 4; see also Paul Hazard, Books, children and men (4th ed.; Boston: The Horn Book Inc., 1960), pp. 6, 14.

more than apparent that the separation which had arisen between the rich and the poor and between the adults of the middle classes and their children could also be evidenced in the game culture of adults and children.⁴¹ As work became as essential as God in the values of the society, games occupied a more and more humble position in the life of the adult.⁴²

CONCEPTS OF CHILDHOOD

Beliefs about the nature and characteristics of children and childhood had become a focal point for many uncertainties and clashes between traditional beliefs, scientific knowledge and educational theories. It was impossible to separate an author's concept of childhood from his or her desired expectations of children's behaviour.⁴³ Accordingly reflected in the beliefs and values which the authors sought to inculcate in their readers, were the four major movements of Nineteenth

⁴¹Ariès, "Games, fashions," pp. 102-107.

⁴²Houghton, pp. 217, 242.

⁴³Peter J. Coveney, The image of childhood (Rev. ed.; Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1967), p. 12. As Townsend has suggested the moral standards of an author will materialize explicitly or implicitly in his books; or at least, "their corrupting contrary will not appear." John Rowe Townsend, "Didacticism in modern dress," in Only connect: Readings in children's literature, eds. Shiela Egoff et al. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 37.

Century thought on life and society, namely Evangelicalism, Philosophical Radicalism, Naturalism and Romanticism.⁴⁴

Particular concepts of childhood were implied within the ideological framework of these movements. Miller suggests that, from the conflict between these "schools of thought," a pattern of responses to childhood and treatment of children was established and this has persisted well into the second half of this century.⁴⁵

Evangelicalism

By the end of the eighteenth century Evangelical doctrine had created in society a central place for Christian values.⁴⁶ This dominant discipline had become secularized as respectability, and if children were not good for God's sake, then it was highly desirable for them to be good for good's sake. The Evangelical desire that all men retain a high and serious purpose in their lives was seen in the creed of moral and intellectual earnestness which penetrated all aspects of life in the mid nineteenth century.⁴⁷ It gave recognition to the belief that those

⁴⁴Miller, p. 23.

⁴⁵Miller, p. 24; see also Houghton, p. 14; and Harding, pp. 38-40.

⁴⁶Paul Sangster, Pity my simplicity. The evangelical revival and religious education of children 1738-1800 (London: The Epworth Press), p. 23; see also Asa Briggs, p. 155.

⁴⁷Somervell, pp. 24-25; see also Houghton, pp. 218-262.

who engaged in recreation did so in the spirit of self denial to strengthen themselves for work to come.

The Evangelical conceived a wrathful God and a child who would remain a child of Hell unless converted and born again.⁴⁸ It was this lingering tradition where idleness and sinfulness were almost synonymous with the pursuit of amusement which led one literary critic to conclude that

. . . the sins of tree-climbing and leap-frog are not even alluded to in the literature. They are the abominable crimes of which one does not speak.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, in comparison with the seventeenth century views of John Bunyan and James Janeway on the sinful nature of children who devoted time to the pursuit of games and pastimes,⁵⁰ the concept of Evangelicalism

⁴⁸Houghton, pp. 51, 61-62.

⁴⁹S.G. Tallentyre, "The road to knowledge, a hundred years ago," Cornhill Magazine, IX, 54:821, 1900.

⁵⁰In a verse from the Awakened child's lamentation, John Bunyan has said: When other children played,/ That work I then delayed,/ Ran up and down and played/ And thus from God have strayed./ in John Bunyan, 1628-1688. A book for boys and girls: or country rhymes for children, a facsimile of the first edition, 1686 (London: Elliot Stock, 1889). While James Janeway portrayed a little boy who "When he was at play with other children, he would be often times putting in some word to keep them from naughty talk or wicked actions; and, if they did take from the Lord's name in vain . . . they would hear of it from him." in (James Janeway) 1636-1674. A token for children being

which was held by authors at the time of this study, 1780-1855, had undergone considerable change. The well-known pedagogical writings together with the children's verses of Isaac Watts (recognizable still in favourite children's hymns today) had been influential in the promotion of this change toward a more humanitarian outlook on the nature of children.⁵¹ Indicative of the sentimental mood which he expressed in this verse which appeared in the text of a number of children's stories:

Why should I love my sport so well,
so constant at my play.
and lose my thoughts of Heav'n and Hell:
and then forget to pray?⁵²

Time spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes by children was tolerated providing that children obeyed God's law, especially as it applied to the Sabbath.⁵³ For those who offended, tragedy was inevitable.

an exact account of the conversion holy and exemplary lives and joyful deaths of several young children (London: J. Matthews, 1799. 1st publ., 1671-1672), p. 143.

⁵¹Babenroth, pp. 173, 216-217; Muir, pp. 58, 73.

⁵²Isaac Watts, Divine songs, attempted in easy language for children (7th ed.; Burslem: John Tregortha, 1800. 1st publ., 1795), p. 59. Note: Verses appeared in both time periods in Esther Copley, The young reviewers: or the poems dissected (London: William Barton, 1821), p. 82, and in In school and out of school, or, the history of William and John. An interesting tale by one who knows both (London: Dean and Munday, 1827), p. 65.

⁵³Sangster, p. 23. Note: See particularly the works of Hannah More and Edward White Benson. By 1854, Mrs. Sherwood, an Evangelical writer depicted a playground scene which demonstrated the boundaries of approval. Two

The Evangelical was deeply concerned for the well-being of the child whose protection and nurture was seen as their Christian duty. The concept of eighteenth century innocence symbolized by William Blake emphasized the compassionate love of the child for his fellow creatures and of Man for his God. His was not a morbid nostalgia for a lost happiness, but a firm rejection of the rational seriousness of the educational theorists. His theme of the romantic child, born for joy, which was conceived in his Songs of innocence published in 1789 captured the deliberate attention of very few authors of children's stories of the time.⁵⁴ The extreme concepts of original sin and those of original innocence offered little toward the understanding of the real nature of the child. The docile, passive, lamb-like children who existed as the ideal models of children were far removed from the intensity of the child's world portrayed by Blake and his friends. They were "born in innocence," but happily restrained themselves from conflict and rough or rude behaviour which offended the adult world.

young school boys are wrestling. They were "pretty well matched," and "had often tried each other's strength before, never failing to shake hands heartily after every skirmish however hot they might have been during its continuance." Mary Martha Sherwood, and Sophia Sherwood Kelly, Boys will be boys (London: Darton, 1854), p. 45.

⁵⁴F.J. Harvey Darton, Children's books in England (2nd ed.; Cambridge: The University Press, 1958), p. 217.

Evangelical authors included in their ranks both women (Mrs. Trimmer, Hannah More, Mrs. Hurry, Dorothy Kilner, Mrs. Hofland, Mrs. Copley, Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Sherwood and Mrs. Mant) and men (George Mogridge, Samuel Wilberforce) as well as the unknown author of In school and out of school. They adopted the fashionable moral tale and created a fictional child who was not so much a miserable sinner but rather an innocent to be moulded by Christian parents.⁵⁵ Their stories usually portrayed the reproving and admonishing adult who was more than anxious to remind the children that the pursuit of games and pastimes came after duty to God. Largely as an outcome of the influence of prevailing utilitarian ideas of progress, duty to God was extended to include the responsibility of man to use to the full all those attributes with which God had endowed him. These included the power of physical strength.

Advances in medical science and increasing attention to the formative powers of education gave greater

⁵⁵ Louise Francis Field, The child and his book. Some account of the history and progress of children's literature in England (2nd ed.; London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1892), p. 250. Note: For examples of the inclusion of content on games and pastimes in books of Religious Instruction see the essay by Rev. George Burder, Early piety: or memoirs of children eminently religious in The child's reward book, containing several narratives particularly interesting to young persons (London: Religious Tract Society, [ca. 1820]), I, 48; see also III, 137, and IV, 7, 8 and 12.

significance to the potential contribution of the pursuit of games and pastimes to health, mental alertness, social behaviour and manliness, and the question of idle sinfulness lost its importance as a vital issue. Nevertheless, concern with productivity and the utilization of time continued to make the religious beliefs of the Evangelicals a source of conflict where the pursuit of games and pastimes was an issue.

Philosophical Radicalism

The utilitarian creed of progress from which no young mind of the eighteen-thirties could escape was indicative of the thought of the Philosophical Radical.⁵⁶ They viewed the child as a thing, "it," a small-sized adult who needed to be modelled into an appropriate adult figure thus ensuring the progress and betterment of the future world.⁵⁷ It was of no great concern to the Philosophical Radical whether the child was one of original sin or innocence. "He was father to the man," and the sooner he was filled with information and so equipped to undertake

⁵⁶Young, p. 8; Babenroth, p. 1; see also Elie Halévy, The growth of Philosophical Radicalism (London: Faber and Faber, 1972. 1st publ., 1928), pp. 153-306. Note: While the doctrine of Utility was becoming the universal philosophy in England prior to 1815, it is not until the 1830's that the doctrine of Philosophical Radicalism came into being.

⁵⁷Tallentyre, p. 817. In his words, "It might be a bad or a good thing. But it was a thing to do as we choose with - to model after our own ideas."

the responsibilities of manhood the better.⁵⁸ Childhood was a period of construction therefore children's interest in the pursuit of games and pastimes could be utilized as motivation for learning and inculcating work habits. Furthermore, it was reasoned that participation in physical activity ensured health, and as such became a necessary adjunct to daily life.

Like the Evangelicals, the Philosophical Radicals sought an adult centred environment for the child. They placed emphasis upon industry and earnestness in the pursuit of goals related to the future. Utilitarian goals were perceived in terms of the betterment of the individual and society, and not necessarily for the protection they offered from the wrath of God. The Philosophical Radical saw, in the pursuit of games and pastimes by children, a contribution to health, a recreative value which benefited the mind, a useful source of motivation as reward for effort and interest in knowledge and a demonstration of courage and self reliance.⁵⁹ Whereas the Evangelical saw the need for self-control as a desirable Christian virtue,

⁵⁸"Children have not a minute to lose!" See British Broadcasting Corporation, Ideas and beliefs of the Victorians. An historic revaluation of the Victorian age (London: Sylvan Press, 1949), p. 11.

⁵⁹Newsome, pp. 195-239. Particularly the discussion on the presence of muscular Christians prior to Victoria's reign, on page 203.

the Philosophical Radical saw similar behaviour as evidence of rational judgement. Where enjoyment was equated with release from mental tension and exercise brought health, its pursuit was fostered with all earnestness.

In comparison with the sometimes entertaining moral tales produced by the Evangelical authors, the Philosophical Radical authors wrote very sober, didactic and rather dull, pedantic children's stories. Their children were industrious and serious rather than pious and their time at games was justified in the same terms. Authors who were essentially supportive of Philosophical Radical ideas in England were predominantly male, namely, James Parkinson, John Aikin, John Paris, William Martin. Among the women were the two Americans Lydia Child and Elizabeth Leslie, and the English woman Louisa Barwell. The most remarkable of all was John Paris, the title of whose book The philosophy in sport; made science in earnest speaks for itself.⁶⁰ The spirit of enjoyment is almost lost entirely in his undaunted pursuit of rational understanding.

⁶⁰John Newbery in 1761 was the first of the children's authors to follow the idea of Comenius of captivating interest in learning by presenting content familiar to children. See John Newbery, 1713-1767, ed., The Newtonian system of philosophy adapted to the capacities of young gentlemen and ladies, and familiarized and made entertaining by objects with which they are intimately acquainted (4th ed.; London: T. Carnan and

Naturalism

Basic to the "Naturalistic" concept of childhood was the pedagogical need to understand the true nature of children. Their education was viewed as a process of learning manifested through experiences.⁶¹ Instrumental to their progress and development was the unique nature of each child which it was realized should not be supplanted by adult ways.⁶² The Naturalist, accepting that children were born good, concentrated much more upon what individuals were capable of becoming than upon the Philosophical Radical considerations of what society wanted them to be.⁶³

F. Newbery, jun., 1770. 1st publ., 1761, under the title The Philosophy of tops and balls); and Johann Amos Comenius 1592-1670, Orbis Sensualium Pictus (Facs. rpt.; Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1659).

⁶¹The message portrayed by both Berquin and Edgeworth, both disciples of Rousseau, was very clear on the question of learning through exercise. Though Edgeworth was more appreciative of the need to protect children from danger. See particularly Arnold Berquin, 1749-1791. The looking glass for the mind (1792; rpt., London: Griffith, 1885. 1st publ., 1782), pp. 175-185; and Maria Edgeworth, "Tarlton," in The parent's assistant (London: J. Johnson, 1804).

⁶²Rousseau recommended in Emile that it was desirable to encourage the boy to play the same games as men, not so much for amusement but as a means to make men. Jean Jacques Rousseau, p. 138.

⁶³Jean Jacques Rousseau, pp. 55, 84.

In England, Rousseau's theories were widely known and interpreted in the works of Maria Edgeworth.⁶⁴ The fictional children of the Naturalist writers demonstrated an excitement in experimentation in their learning and shared their delight with the adult figures in the stories.⁶⁵ These story characters are, however, never left in doubt as to the contribution of the societal values of industriousness, prudence and good humour to their happiness and well-being.⁶⁶ Maria Edgeworth's position as educator and as one of the most renowned authors of children's literature during the nineteenth century makes her work particularly pertinent.⁶⁷ It was her belief that "folly should be allowed some leash or it will burst out as the water in a tea kettle when the spout

⁶⁴Babenroth, p. 212; see also Curtis, p. 392.
Note: Rousseau believed that children could only grow up healthy by running risks and placed little value on self control. Such ideas were not acceptable to the practical English mind. Jean Jacques Rousseau, pp. 63-64; see also Miller, p. 30.

⁶⁵See The art of teaching in sport; designed as a prelude to a set of toys for enabling ladies to instill the rudiments of spelling, reading, grammar and arithmetic under the idea of amusement (London: John Marshall, 1780), pp. 6, 52.

⁶⁶Muriel Jaeger, Before Victoria (London: Chatto and Windus, 1956), p. 107.

⁶⁷S.J. Curtis, p. 392 ff; see also Hans, p. 267; Elizabeth Inglis Jones, The great Maria. A portrait of Maria Edgeworth (London: Faber & Faber, 1959).

is stoppered."⁶⁸ This was a far cry from the horrid child portrayed by the Evangelical in order to teach a lesson in manners or the learned child anxious to know the answers idealized by the Philosophical Radicals. In general the Naturalists depicted children engaged in their games with their parents. They were adventuresome, climbing trees without reproof, and appreciative of the advantages of country life experiences. The adult, when present, did not completely dominate the scene and the advice given was informative and encouraging rather than remonstrative.⁶⁹

Although Rousseau's views had a remarkably positive influence upon thoughts of childhood of the time period, 1780-1855,⁷⁰ the number of English authors who followed his theories were relatively few. In addition to Maria Edgeworth, a practical educator, who has continued to

⁶⁸Maria Edgeworth, "Forester and the Campbell family," in Moral tales for young people (London: J. Johnson, 1801), I, 46.

⁶⁹Probably the worst example of all is the pompous dialogue of the clergyman Mr. Barlow whom Day portrays as the tutor and fountain of useful information in Thomas Day, 1748-1789, The history of Sandford and Merton: A work intended for the use of children (London: Rivington, 1818. 1st publ., 1783-1789). Two volumes.

⁷⁰Cornelia Meigs in A critical history of children's literature (Rev. ed.; London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 87. Note: Darton's description of Day's Sandford and Merton as "a vivacious attempt to present Emile in the guise of fiction for English boys," F.J. Harvey Darton, Children's books in England (2nd ed.; Cambridge: The University Press, 1958), p. 146, is in sharp contrast with Muir's view that it is "a feast of nausea." Muir, p. 91.

receive acclaim for her work The parents assistant, was the influential and popular Thomas Day. Other authors whose work strongly reflected Naturalist beliefs, but whose popularity did not last after their death, were William and Mary Howitt.

Romanticism

The Romantics were noticeable for their intense conviction of the innocence and significance of childhood. Their writing for children, usually in poetry, arrived at a time when the somewhat repressive and aggressive moral-laden stories dominated the market. They wrote for children whose imagination responded to lively happenings without the continual reminders to keep faces clean, hair tidy and morals in order.⁷¹ Theirs was an increasingly urgent voice as the impact of the Philosophical Radical appeared to threaten unsupervised play of children.⁷² They reminded the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century world in England of the natural spontaneity, the impulsiveness and emotional response of children of which adults may have been deprived in their own childhood. The value of the pursuit of games and pastimes carried a

⁷¹Muir, p. 102.

⁷²As they found poetry a more suitable medium for communicating their ideas the full extent of their influence is not as apparent in this particular study of prose literature as it was in the society as a whole.

developmental significance as a source of joy and happiness with life and had intrinsic worth as a view of the vital impulse of living. At a time when Evangelical tradition continued to propound the doctrine of original sin, the Romanticist saw the child as the most innocent of creatures. Childhood was a time of immeasurable worth which ought to be treasured and prolonged, free of adult constraints, for as long as possible.⁷³

The pertinent features in their fiction was the expression of momentary delight and adventure unaccompanied by either didactic or moral directives. The views of the Romantics should not be equated with the nostalgic reminiscences for a lost childhood which became evident later in the twentieth century.⁷⁴ It is felt that in many instances these were expressions of a longing for a return to innocence and the security of an adult-directed environment of a more stable society, and not always a recognition of the English romanticism which was in neither origin nor intention escapist.⁷⁵

⁷³Babenroth, p. 272.

⁷⁴Such authors as John Aikin, George Mogridge, William Howitt and William Scargill tend to belong in this category.

⁷⁵Rickword, V,17.

The Romantic authors did not make any remarkable impact upon children's stories until after 1830, by which time the Fairy tale had become acceptable in some children's libraries.⁷⁶ There were a few authors, such as Sara Coleridge, Mark Lemon and Francis Paget whose works reflected this minority view of childhood.⁷⁷ Others such as Mary Mister and the unknown author of the moral allegory The adventure of a kite, appreciative of the attraction which the imaginative stories had for their readers, utilized the setting for the more common didactic moral purpose.⁷⁸ In this respect even Mrs. Trimmer was susceptible to its value.⁷⁹

⁷⁶Darton, p. 217 ff; see also Coveney, p. 50.

⁷⁷Babenroth, p. 231. Note: In Babenroth's opinion the terrible realities of the concrete Calvinistic conceptions and their immediate application to the commonest activities of children, precluded an appeal to the imaginative play interest of children.

⁷⁸Mary Mister, The adventure of a doll (London: Darton, Harvey and Darton, 1816); see also The adventure of a kite (London: G. Cox, 1750); Mary Mister stated that "the natural activity of youth will lead to evil if left to neglect and idleness." p. 71; also Mrs. Trimmer in Fabulous histories, more familiarly known as History of the Robins (1786) took care to explain that her aim is not to encourage the idea of bird language but to convey moral instruction on the treatment of animals.

⁷⁹Her most successful children's story entitled Fabulous histories includes the directions given to the young birds when they first attempt to fly. Flopsy is told to "first bend your legs, then spring from the ground as quick as you can . . ." Flopsy does not listen. He falls to the ground and repents of his folly. See Sarah Trimmer, 1741-1810, Fabulous histories: History of the

A number of small illustrated texts, rich with simple statements of positive enjoyment for good children, were also suggestive of the Romanticist. These included Juvenile sports and Christmas gambols. In addition the views of Mary Hughes, Catherine Sinclair, and the author of The little deserter and of Bob and dog Quizz, though mindful of other concepts, were sensitive to the ideas of children being taught by love and example and being thoroughly individual in their behaviour.

The views with which the individual author regarded childhood, and in particular the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood, were seldom confined within one of these four most prevalent ideologies of Evangelicalism, Philosophical Radicalism, Naturalism or Romanticism. Rather, they demonstrated, in their beliefs, directionality toward either a child-centred or an adult-centred environment in which children lived. A continuum of thought also prevailed in which children and childhood were able to be viewed, either objectively with a forthright endeavour to apply scientific understanding of children to control their environment; or subjectively with a retention of a romantic outlook into the free nature of childhood. The similarities and disparities which

Robins: or domestic life among the birds, with anecdotes of other animals (Francis & Co., 1786), p. 42.

existed between the four concepts of childhood have been diagrammatically presented in Figure 1.

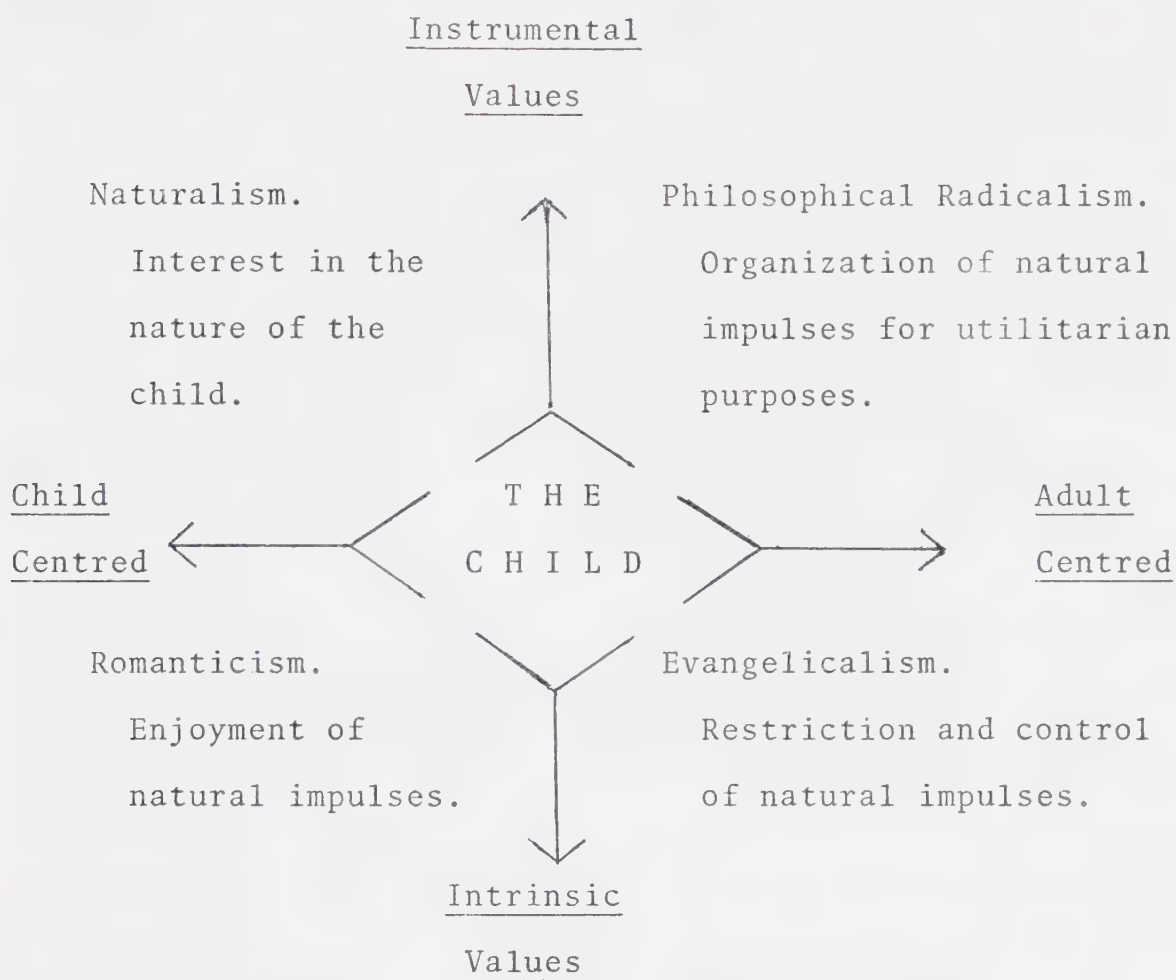


Figure 1

Concepts of Childhood*

The horizontal axis of the diagram illustrates

* This figure was developed on the basis of discussion with Dr. Peter Miller at The University of Alberta, Edmonton, in October, 1973.

a continuum of thought which at the extreme right offered an environment totally directed by the adult world leaving little or no room for children to control their own destiny. As the Philosophical Radical and the Evangelicals were both distrustful of the child's spontaneous responses to life⁸⁰ they had much in common in their endeavours to mould children either on the most direct path to salvation, or toward knowledge, or both. For the most part their views fell toward the right of the horizontal continuum. At the other extreme children, removed from the guidance and direction offered by the adult world, were totally dependent upon their own resources. But in the family life portrayed in their stories, few authors travelled very far toward the extreme left of this continuum.

The vertical axis illustrates the diversity in utilitarian values placed upon time spent in childhood. At the top of the figure childhood may be seen as a time of lofty and serious purpose to be thoroughly utilized and dedicated to progress and learning in both intellectual and moral matters. At the other extreme childhood was seen as important in its own right, providing intrinsic values

⁸⁰Miller, pp. 27, 29.

which led ultimately to the enrichment of the spirit of mankind. Whereas the former is readily associated with the Philosophical Radical view and to a less tangible extent the ideas of the Naturalist, the lower part of the continuum is indicative of the Romantic and in some degree the Evangelical viewpoint.

Where Evangelical thought proposed acceptance of the position in life which God in his wisdom had allocated, it tended to reject the extreme instrumental values and thus could be located diagrammatically toward the centre of the vertical axis. The strengthening beliefs that it was one's duty to God to sustain a healthy body and that moral training could be promoted through games, pushed the frame of reference toward the top of the axis. But, within Evangelical ideals, the concept of innocent play and its related intrinsic value to the child pulled the movement in the opposite direction. Where young children were concerned these intrinsic values carried greater acceptance than those with an instrumental purpose. The "Evangelical" and the "Philosophical Radical" children were seldom released from their adult-centred environment. But, it should be noted that so far as the views which were held regarding the pursuit of games and pastimes, authors moved with some freedom along the vertical continuum. The direction of this movement tended to be toward the instrumental values.

In the upper quadrants of the diagram it can be anticipated that both the Naturalist and the Philosophical Radical would recognize potential practical educational value in the pursuit of games and pastimes. Whereas the follower of Rousseau might be expected to observe the children's behaviour at their self-elected games and thus learn more about them, the Philosophical Radical would select and organize the games that were to be encouraged, believing that the time should be utilized in a constructive way. Thus experiences in which children learned by their mistakes would fall into the upper left hand corner while those initiated to provoke simple pleasure and enjoyment by the children themselves would fall into the lower left hand quadrant.

Similarly in the lower right hand corner can be found the protected child of the Evangelical reference, often-times so closely linked with the more realistic views of the Romantics as to appear almost the same. As previously indicated support for each of these four major movements prevalent in nineteenth century thought, was to be found in varying degrees in the children's literature reviewed for the study. The children described by individual authors may be seen at times to roam easily, or alternately, to be pulled and pushed across the various boundaries and towards either extremes.

Chapter III

THE PUBLICATION SCENE

A consideration of the publication scene is necessary to an adequate appreciation of the attitudes reflected in children's literature between 1780 and 1855. The efforts of the Sunday School Movement and educationists in the promotion of mass literacy, combined with the improved techniques of publication and the greater economic stability of the time, resulted in books being more readily published. Meanwhile their circulation to a wider reading public than ever before was met by a large and efficient machinery of book distribution.¹ The continued publication of books by such authors as Trimmer, Barbauld, Edgeworth, Day and Sherwood, throughout the nineteenth century meant that ideas which they purveyed were sanctioned by the parents of succeeding generations.² Nevertheless, after an apparent pause in the production of the persuasive didacticism between 1820 and 1830, there was

¹F.J. Harvey Darton, Children's books in England. Five centuries of social life (2nd ed.; Cambridge: University Press, 1966. 1st publ., 1932), p. 218; see also Edgell Rickword, The social setting (1780-1830) in The Pelican Guide to English literature (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957) 5, p. 21. Note: Many publishers issued the books in parts thus greatly enlarging the number of prospective buyers.

²Gillian Avery, Nineteenth century children. Heroes and Heroines in English children's stories 1780-1900 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965), p. 14.

added a new generation of children's story tellers.³ These gave ever increasing attention to the narrative of the tale and markedly decreased the emphasis upon horrid warnings and smug, inhumanly virtuous children.⁴ Though girls' interests were largely ignored, it was a time when the publishers realized that adults preferred different books for girls than for boys. Generally, however, the books continued to be dull, pedantic and of limited appeal in terms of present day expectations of children's literature.

As teachers, parents, devoted maiden aunts, doctors and pastors, the authors of this time, 1780-1855, were not separated from the public for whom they wrote.⁵ With very few exceptions they belonged to the upper middle class and wrote for the aristocracy and the new prosperous middle classes.⁶

It is noteworthy that those authors who made

³Darton, p. 217. Note: These included William and Mary Howitt, Harriet Martineau, Catherine Sinclair, and Frederick Marryat.

⁴Percy Muir, English children's books 1600-1900 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 108.

⁵Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian frame of mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. xvi.

⁶Darton, p. 221; see also Rickword, p. 26.

reference to the games and pastimes of the lower classes included Hannah More in the early period and William Martin in the later period. Through her popular Cheap Repository Tracts, and moral tales written in support of her work in the Sunday School Movement, Hannah More set the proprieties of English children's morals clearly before society.⁷ She attempted to establish the value of thrift, industriousness and virtue in her reader. On those isolated occasions when she depicted children in the pursuit of games and pastimes, the scenes usually emphasized the sins of idleness and misconduct. Nevertheless the virtuous child enjoyed his play at the proper time. Her plain didactic fiction which focused upon how to lead a good life is claimed to have inspired the conception of the Peter Parley Tales, many of which promoted positive utilitarian attitudes toward children's games and pastimes.⁸ William Martin who had spent his childhood in the care of a London washer-woman wrote and edited many of these stories.⁹ The

⁷Darton, pp. 228-229; see also Cornelia Meigs, "Roots in the past up to 1840," in A critical history of children's literature by Cornelia Meigs et al., (rev. ed.; London: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 72-75.

⁸Paul Sangster, Pity my simplicity. The evangelical revival and religious education of children 1738-1800 (London: The Epworth Press, 1963), p. 6.

⁹"William Martin," The dictionary of national biography: from the earliest time to 1900, eds. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (Oxford: The University Press, published since 1917).

significance which the authors of the time attached to the conduct of children during the pursuit of games and pastimes implicitly recognized a decisive influence of these pursuits in shaping the children to the standard pattern of their peers.¹⁰ The section of the middle class which produced these authors of children's literature was familiar with the teachings of the dissenters.¹¹ With few exceptions their views reflected those of both Rousseau and Locke as well as the psychology of associationism firmly asserting the formative power of education.¹²

In the earlier period of the study, 1780-1825, the authors have been referred to as "Mrs. Barbauld and her crowd."¹³ This encompassing statement, made initially by

¹⁰D.W. Harding, "The character of literature from Blake to Byron" in The Pelican Guide to English literature (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957), V, 40.

¹¹Nicholas Hans, New Trends in education in the eighteenth century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), p. 60; see also Brian Simon, Studies in the history of Education, 1780-1870 (London: Laurence & Wishart 1960), p. 23. Note: The Barbaulds reputedly kept one of the better known dissenting schools for eleven years.

¹²Simon, p. 24; see also Meigs, p. 87; Peter Coveney, The image of childhood (rev. ed.; Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 40.

¹³Paul Hazard, Books, children and men (4th ed.; Boston: Horn Book, 1960), p. 14; Coveney, p. 15; Muir, p. 82. Note: Muir called them "The monstrous regiment."

Charles Lamb, refers to the moralizing and instructional piety for which they were responsible. Their stories were designed to improve the character and point out ways in which children could correct their faults, and as Sloane has said, they "often apologised more or less seriously for their attempts to entertain and make their instruction more palatable."¹⁴ In general, there was little in the stories to challenge the imagination of the reader, although authors such as Maria Edgeworth, Dorothy Kilner, Mrs. Sherwood, Mrs. Mant, Mrs. Sinclair and Harriet Martineau depicted with an ease of expression and in a more lively manner, domestic scenes in which the children enjoyed the games they played. As the view that it was no longer a matter of resisting evil but of conquering it gained acceptance, the writers of the second period became more matter of fact. Their books, particularly those written by men for boys, described the games and the exploits of the players with more than customary detail.¹⁵ The encyclopaedic-type publications on games, which catered almost exclusively for boys, suggest that the ideal for boys was practical participation rather than leisurely reading.

¹⁴William Sloane, Children's books in England and America in the seventeenth century (New York: King's Crown Press, 1955), p. 15; see also Gillian Avery, In the window seat (Oxford: The University Press, 1960).

¹⁵Henry Steele Commager has suggested that the American publication scene knew no sex preference. See the "Introduction" in Meigs, xviii.

The Benthamite principles that man was what the environment made him had a strong following among the merchants and manufacturers and the professional classes to whom this new generation of authors after 1830 belonged.¹⁶ They met the challenge of weaving new ideas and old dogmas into fresh patterns of thought with varying degrees of success. With the moral tale as the established base, they wrote more intimately of the games to revel in at school and less rampantly about manners and morals. They appear to have sought hopefully, if on occasion anxiously, for acceptable values in time spent in such idle, sinful, but pleasurable activities as games and pastimes. In doing so they wrote more expansively on the exhilaration to be gained on the one hand and the information to be sought through the pursuit of games and pastimes on the other. Their books on games were no longer apologetic but openly claimed to both inform and entertain the reader. Nevertheless they never really lost the pious earnestness so characteristic of English society of the time.¹⁷

Some authors were unquestionably more successful or popular with children than others, and there is evidence that characters, from such stories as Sandford and Merton

¹⁶G.D.H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, The common people. 1746-1946 (4th ed.; London: Methuen, 1968), p. 246.

¹⁷Houghton, pp. 218-262; Sangster, p. 23.

and Holiday house were familiarly discussed by their readers.¹⁸ Lengthy publication histories were not unusual, and some books such as the collection of stories Evenings at home, first published between 1792-1795, retained a market until 1891.¹⁹ Several of the authors had numerous children's books published, Dorothy Kilner, Mrs. Sherwood, William Martin and Harriet Martineau being among the more prolific.

Though some authors such as Dorothy Kilner continued to use a pseudonym for all their books, the stigma associated with the trade appears to have faded after 1800.²⁰ It was evident from Sarah Trimmer's reviews that despite the use of pseudonyms some authors were in fact

¹⁸Amy Barter Cruse, The Englishman and his books in the early nineteenth century (London: Harrap, 1930), p. 12.

¹⁹Betsy Rodgers, Georgian Chronicle. Mrs. Barbauld and her family (London: Methuen, 1958), p. 125. Note: These stories written by the dissenters, John Aikin and his sister Anna Barbauld were less prudish than most. They reflected a kindly disposition to the romantic ideals but were essentially followers of Locke and to a lesser extent Rousseau.

²⁰Muir, pp. 82-83. Note: As the market offered security to a select few, and with notable exceptions their work was disregarded as trivia, unimportant within the literary circle, the matter was hardly one of serious concern to society. Nevertheless when children gained status as harbingers of the new world, publishers found an increasing market and several of the women authors helped to support themselves and their families through their earnings.

known to the public for whom they wrote. Both men and women took refuge behind the pseudonym. Even though some remain anonymous to this day, many have been identified, for instance: Dr. James Parkinson, "Old Hubert"; William Martin, "Peter Parley"; George Mogridge, "Old Humphrey"; Dorothy Kilner, "M.P."; Julia Corner, "Solomon Lovechild".

Women authors dominated the market. They found in their writing a ready source of emolument and brought with them their knowledge of the small school or large family.²¹ While most appear to have written only for children some wrote both pedagogical and fictional material for adults. The latter include most of the authors classified on the major author list, particularly Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Trimmer, Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Sherwood, Mary Wollstonecraft and Harriet Martineau. Among the male authors were to be found writers, scholars, doctors and clergymen. They appear for the most part to have published children's stories only occasionally and are not necessarily remembered

²¹As an example, Sarah Trimmer, the mother of twelve children, can be considered the mirror of the average upper middle class, devout but kindly and equipped with an amazing amount of energy which she devoted to typically practical and humane evangelical causes. Mary Wollstonecraft (Godwin) had worked as a governess and school teacher, she expounded her own philosophy of the Rights of Women and was ostracized by the powerful literary women led by Sarah Trimmer and Mrs. Sherwood. See The dictionary of national biography, et. passim.

for their contribution in the area of children's literature. They include Dr. Parkinson, a physician, Dr. Aikin, a physician and man of letters, Samuel Wilberforce, politician and social reformer; exceptions would be the travel stories of William Howitt, and the controversial social reform ideas presented by Thomas Day in the classic Sandford and Merton.²²

Apart from such authors as Mary Godwin (Wollstonecraft) 1759-97, and Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), the writers of children's literature at this time did not openly support feminist ideas.²³ They took for granted the subordinate and dependent position of women and in the belief that it would enable women to be better companions

²²Thomas Day was a dedicated follower for many years of the ideas of Rousseau. One biographer has claimed that "at one time Victorian England could be divided between those who brought their children up on Sandford and Merton and those who preferred the Fairchild family." See S.H. Scott, The exemplary Mr. Day 1748-1789. Author of Sandford and Merton (London: Faber & Faber, 1935), p. 166.

²³Mary Wollstonecraft, author of A vindication of the rights of woman (1792) and an unsuccessful children's book, Original stories from real life; with conversations, calculated to regulate the affections and form the mind to truth and goodness (1788) is recognized today as a remarkable pioneer of feminist thought. While in the opinion R. Glynn Grylls, Harriet Martineau set the standard of the objective outlook and the scientific approach in place of personal rebellion and political passion. See R. Glynn Grylls, "Emancipation of women," in Ideas and beliefs of the Victorians an historic valuation of the Victorian age (London: Sylvan Press, 1949), p. 255.

to their husbands,²⁴ pleaded for intellectual emancipation only. Despite the fact that many of these authors were self-supporting, had conducted schools of their own, and, in the case of Mrs. Trimmer had successfully produced an educational journal of repute for several years,²⁵ their writing reflects the opposition to the feminist ideas. Klein maintains this rejection was strong and bitter not only among those who had vested interests but also among the majority of women themselves.²⁶ Undoubtedly social pressure was to some extent responsible for their silence on controversial matters in books from which they sought a substantial income. It is reasonably accurate to imply that authors who were more outspoken in support of radical ideas were those whose livelihood was not totally dependent upon the sale of their books. The vehement reaction of contemporaries to Mary (Godwin) Wollstonecraft's life-style was accompanied by a rejection of her ideas by the

²⁴Cruse, p. 82.

²⁵The Guardian of Education, a series of critical book reviews and discussion on educational matters was produced by Mrs. Trimmer, from 1802-1806.

²⁶Viola Klein, The feminine character. History of an ideology (London: Kegan Paul, 1946), p. 23. The aristocratic values which emphasized the male code of chivalry toward the female sex was held in high regard by both men and women.

influential authors of children's literature.²⁷ It is not unlikely that the noticeable lack of books on games for girls published in England at a time when similar publications had appeared in the United States and in France, can be partially explained by the reaction of the authors of children's literature to the philosophy of free love she set forth.²⁸

The selection of major and minor authors from the authoritative Cambridge list of children's books in the history of children's literature, ensured that most influential authors in the history of children's literature were reviewed. Among the books and authors identified there were some that offered more scope than others for the study of attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes for the period 1780-1825. These included, The book of games, First going to school or the story of Tom Brown and his sisters (Dorothy Kilner), A nosegay for the trouble of culling, or sports of childhood (Mary Elliott), Dangerous

²⁷Miriam Brody Kramnick, "Introduction" in A vindication of the rights of woman by Mary Wollstonecraft (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1975. 1st publ., 1792), pp. 36-38. Mrs. Trimmer considered the title so ridiculous that she declared she would not trouble to read it. Harriet Martineau's work in the second period was received with mixed enthusiasm by her contemporaries.

²⁸Houghton, p. 361 ff; see also Mary Wollstonecraft, A vindication of the rights of woman (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1975. 1st publ., 1792), p. 100 ff.

sports (James Parkinson), Youthful recreations, and The little deserter. The later period from 1825 included In school and out of school, The boy's seek-day book (Mogridge), and the encyclopaedic-type books of Martin, Clarke, Child and Leslie.²⁹

The children portrayed by the authors of children's literature have been aptly described as bursting with knowledge, always right, and consciously practising charity and enjoying the benefits of their own benevolence. Good behaviour paid, bad did not.³⁰ The untidy, careless "normal" child appeared only as a terrible example.³¹ For these middle class children,

. . . punishment, the abhorrence of parents, and evil results fall . . . not so fiercely for lying, stealing treachery or cruelty as they do for soiling their clothes, falling into the water,

²⁹A brief review of each of these publications illustrating their particular importance as historical documents on the theme is given in the Appendix.

³⁰E.M. Field, The child and his book. Some account of the history and progress of children's literature in England (2nd ed.; London: Wells Gardner, 1892), p. 247; Alice Morse Earle, Child life in colonial times (New York: Macmillan, 1953. 1st publ., 1899), p. 283; Muriel Jaeger, Before Victoria (London: Chatto and Windus, 1956), p. 107.

³¹John Rowe Townsend, Written for children. An outline of English children's literature (London: J. Garnet Miller, 1965), p. 30; see also Avery, Nineteenth century children, p. 14; and Eric Quayle, The collector's book of children's books (London: Studio Vista Publishers, 1971), p. 33.

tumbling off walls, . . . and a score of other actions which are the result of carelessness, clumsiness or indifference, rather than viciousness.³²

Over the time period of the study, an increasing number of authors indicated in their titles³³ that their stories were about children in their pursuit of games and pastimes. They wrote about boys who climbed trees for fun,³⁴ and sought success in their games. However they never lost sight of the fact that children were generally required to behave with an earnestness of purpose seldom to be equated with the real world. Their characters remained both good and Godly in their ways. Despite the innumerable literal, prosaic stories, the presence of the "knowing" adult authority and the everlasting emphasis on moral edification, authors such as Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Sherwood, Dorothy Kilner, Harriet Martineau and Catherine Sinclair wrote stories in which the children moved in an atmosphere of tolerance, understanding and real fun. This lively passage by the Evangelical author of In school and out of school is an excellent example of the Romantic influence and one reminder that in spite of the purpose of

³²Earle, p. 107.

³³For example, The book of games, 1805; The boy's country book, 1839; and The Crofton boys, 1841.

³⁴Infra., pp. 144-145.

authors, the children's exploits could sometimes be both dramatic and entertaining.³⁵

One was seen waving the bat in the air as if to say, my side shall win the victory; another was clinking the wickets, as if to point out the fate of his opponent whom he intended, if it came to his lot to bowl, soon to put out: a third was throwing the ball in the air, and tempting those whom he hoped would be on his side to catch it, as preparatory for the achievements of the field; while not a few were soon beheld shaking their fingers that were smarting with the quickening influence of the swift projected ball.

In fact, already, everyone was doing or saying something, and contending and winning by anticipation. Already had the ideal fancy pictured to the eye, the far-struck cricket ball! Whizzing through the air, and the scouts running after it to the end of the field, whilst they were gaining the goal again and again in triumph, all attempts to bowl them out being entirely ineffectual. In fact, all thought themselves to be conquerors.³⁶

The children portrayed ranged from five to ten or eleven years of age, and were usually old enough to participate with enjoyment in such activities as Blind Man's Buff, Puss in the Corner, Marbles or Trap-Ball. However, the appearance of the encyclopaedic collections of games after 1825, suggests that, in the second period, the children were perhaps older than in the first. These books also reflect the recognition by the authors of a

³⁵Sloane, p. 15.

³⁶In school and out of school (London: Dean and Munday, 1827), p. 66.

difference in the interests of children of different ages.³⁷ When the play groups were led by other children, the stories tended to focus upon the ideal qualities of the leader and the enjoyment they gave to the younger children.

Despite the general interest in education which had arisen in England by the first half of the nineteenth century, a disheartening lack of concern and of real understanding of children lingered on in children's literature.³⁸ It is impossible to deny that the adult of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century offered the child books that paralysed the spontaneous forces of his soul; empty and pedantic they fell as Hazard suggests "like hail on the springtime."³⁹ Unfortunately the ideas of

³⁷ See Philippe Ariès, Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1962), p. 336 ff. for a discussion on the age groups which emerged at this time. The clustering of books on this common topic suggests that there existed national traditions tacitly supported by all. See P. Johns-Heine and H. Gerth, "Values in mass periodical fiction 1921-1940." Public Opinion Quarterly, 13:105-113, 1949.

³⁸ Bess Porter Adams, About books and children. Historical survey of children's literature (New York: Henry Holt, 1953), p. 4; see also A. Charles Babenroth, English childhood, Wordsworth's treatment of childhood in the light of English poetry from Prior to Crabbe (Folcroft: Folcroft Press, 1922), p. 255; J.H. Van den Berg, The changing nature of man (New York: Delta Books, 1964), p. 23. Note: In some respects the children portrayed by Maria Edgeworth are more "normal" than the self righteous heroines of Louisa May Alcott and her kind.

³⁹ Paul Hazard, Books children and men (Boston: The Horn Book Co., 1960), p. 3; see also Coveney, p. 50.

Locke and Rousseau of following and guiding the child's natural interests assumed all the didactic enthusiasm previously directed toward theological issues.⁴⁰ Strongly supported by the Philosophical Radical ideas of human engineering the authors of children's books always saw the purpose in their writing as improving and enlightening children's moral and intellectual knowledge. It is probably unreasonable to expect that these grown-ups who did not even think of giving children appropriate clothing could provide suitably entertaining books,⁴¹ and the limited degree to which they included content on games and pastimes in their children's stories cannot be ignored.⁴²

After an initial period of repression, the time 1780-1855 accelerated into an age of fusion and transition.⁴³ The new middle class to which the authors of children's literature belonged were gradually displacing the

⁴⁰G. Gesiena Andreae, The dawn of juvenile literature in England (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1925), p. 97; see also May Hill Arbuthnot, Children and books (3rd ed.; Glenview Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1964), pp. 41-42; and Babenroth, p. 255.

⁴¹Hazard, p. 6.

⁴²Note: See the discussion on early Victorianism by Maurice J. Quinlan in Victorian prelude, a history of English manners 1700-1830 (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1941), pp. 260-263.

⁴³Houghton, p. 9.

aristocracy as the arbiters of taste and the guardians of morality.⁴⁴ Conducive forces for the reinforcement of approving attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes existed in the intellectual, scientific, economic, political and social scene of the time. These are evident within the concepts of childhood held within the four prevalent movements of thought at the time: Evangelicalism, Philosophical Radicalism, Naturalism and Romanticism. The authors, as prescriptors of the moral standards and values of the next generation, might be expected to both encourage and imitate the particular patterns of behaviour reflective of these changes.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Newsome, p. 34.

⁴⁵Commager, p. xvii; see also Coveney, p. 12; Adams, p. 57.

Chapter IV

THE DIDACTIC INTENT — 1780-1825

The reader of children's literature from this first period becomes increasingly aware of the moral lessons which are continually insinuated in homoeopathic doses and there is no exception when the activities portrayed are those of games and pastimes. In reality, it would seem that such episodes have been included solely because of the opportunities they offer to reinforce standards and expectations of manners and moral values for both sexes.

To a lesser extent, standards of honesty, self respect and worth were directly associated with children's behaviour in their pursuit of games and pastimes. These were incorporated in such terms as fair play, honour and physical prowess which the authors generally saw expressed in connection with the outcome of the games or pastimes. They were anxious to instruct children in the proper way to behave as winners or losers, and in the approved ways in which to express feelings of success. In comparison with the pervading atmosphere set by their concern with manners and sex roles, attention to these values which are more reflective of the subject matter of the games and pastimes themselves was minor. Nevertheless it was an important facet and one which was to become of increasing consequence in the future.

The values which were presented as justification for the occupation of time in the pursuit of games and pastimes mirrored the philosophy of life and the concept of childhood held by the authors. These values have been grouped within the sub topics of enjoyment, health benefits, the promotion of learning, and participation on the Sabbath, and can be inter-related with the four prevalent patterns of thought about childhood; Evangelicalism, Naturalism, Philosophical Radicalism and Romanticism discussed in Chapter II. Apart from the Philosophical Radical, all writers were able to justify some time given to the pursuit of games to free the spirit and to bring enjoyment. On the other hand, health justifications were a most important concern for the Philosophical Radical and of lesser concern for the Naturalist and the Romanticist. Not surprisingly participation on the Sabbath was a major issue for the Evangelical. These diversities in the justifications offered for time spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes, and the degree to which authors evidenced approval and disapproval are important aspects distinguishing this first period 1780-1825 from the following period 1825-1855.

In her definition of expectations of behaviour from children when playing their games, Arabella Argus stands as perhaps the most aggressively insistent author of her generation. In her description of a party scene of Blind

Man's Buff, she incorporated the views of other major authors of children's literature of the time. She wrote:

Upon one of the girls being caught, the boy, as usual, was to guess whom he had taken. He was not accurate, though he insisted he was right. "Upon my honour it is not Mary," said one of the young ladies: "Who cares for your honour?" said the blinded boy. "Well, then, upon my soul." resumed Miss. I started: she caught my eye, and, with some hesitation, continued, "Indeed, it is not Mary." "That word is equally expressive," said I, "and no stronger expression is ever required from children." The game was continued, and I experienced further. "That's your sort!" "There you go!" "This is famous fun!" Etc., etc. was repeated by the young ladies at intervals. At length fatigue occasioned them to desist, when one of the girls advancing to me, said "Have not we been making a fine row, Mr.?"

Now I confess to you, Madam, I was, at the moment too much astonished to reply. "You have made a great noise," said I; "row is too coarse a word to be used by a young lady."¹

Her criticism was most severe on the boisterous behaviour of the girls. In fact she declared that she was not an advocate of girls and boys playing together, preferring to

¹Arabella Argus, pseud. The juvenile spectator: being observations on the tempers, manners, and foibles of various young persons, interspersed with such lively matter, as it is presumed will amuse as well as instruct (London: W. and T. Darton, 1810), II, 195, 196. Note: The characters are drawn with a freshness and understanding not usually encountered at this time. See also Elizabeth Somerville, The village maid: or, Dame Burton's moral stories, for the instruction and amusement of youth (London: Vernor and Hood, 1801), p. 132; and Arnaud Berquin, The looking glass for the mind. Or the intellectual mirror: being an elegant collection of the most delightful little stories: and interesting tales (London: Griffith et al., 1792. 1st publ., 1788), I, 255.

see feminine elegance.²

In this respect Arabella Argus was supported by one of the best of the moral fabulists, Mrs. Sherwood. In her well known story of the Fairchild family, Mrs. Sherwood noted that Henry, her little hero, was the only boy at a party who was allowed to play with the girls at Hide and Seek and Hunt the Hare.³ As might be expected Henry was a remarkably good child and his gentlemanly behaviour made him acceptable as a playmate for the girls.

Occasionally an author demonstrated more favourable support for the idea of boys and girls learning to play happily together. One of these was Dorothy Kilner who, commenting upon the realities of the situation when children played together, wrote: "It is a sad affair that a parcel of little girls and boys cannot play together without

²Argus, The juvenile spectator, p. 199.

³Mary Martha Sherwood, 1775-1851. The history of the Fairchild family; or, the child's manual; being a collection of stories calculated to show the importance and effects of a religious education (London: J. Hatchard, 1847-1848. 1st publ., in three parts, 1818-1847), p. 341. Note: This particular book is a legend in the history of children's literature. It is reputed to have been given as a Sunday School prize in the early years of the twentieth century. See Gillian Avery, The hole in the wall and other stories (Oxford University Press, 1968), Intro. viii.

quarrelling."⁴ She was so anxious that girls and boys learn to play co-operatively that in one instance she denounced the rough play which led to the death of a child who was pushed accidentally into a well during a boisterous game.⁵ Elizabeth Somerville likewise portrayed an episode in which the boy pretending to be a horse gallops after the girls. At first it was great fun, but then he ran about with so little caution that he caused the girls to fall and break their treasured dolls.⁶ On such occasions it is not surprising that the boys were more frequently chastised for being rough and boisterous in their behaviour than the girls, whom it was presumed would know better.

Children were expected to play together without quarrelling and punishment for those who offended usually took the forms of verbal disapproval from the adult observer, whippings, standing on stools and going without food. By contrast, Berquin, a disciple of Rousseau whose many works were translated into English, separated the quarrelsome storybook children so that they soon realized

⁴ [Dorothy Kilner], The village school; or, a collection of entertaining histories for the instruction and amusement of all good children (London: Marshall, [ca. 1795]), p. 29.

⁵ Kilner, The village school, p. 79.

⁶ Somerville, The village maid, p. 132.

that there were few games which could be played on one's own and it was much more fun to have someone with whom to play.⁷ As will be seen later quarrelling did not usually bring forth the severe tragic consequences of acts of disobedience. Nevertheless it was a concern which led to stern and lengthy tirades. Dutiful parents explained that though they did not wish to restrain their little boy from the sports, however noisy, which were suited to his age, they were nevertheless anxious that the boy grow up with "the Grace, the manner and the decorum expected of a gentleman heir to a large estate."⁸ It was usually with this motivation in mind that authors discouraged their child characters (inevitably of middle and upper class background) from playing with those from the other classes. For example, Aikin disparaged the aristocratic and idle life and contrasted it with that of the purposeful school boy who was happy at his work and his play.⁹ Some, such as Mrs. Sherwood, suggested that the lower classes did not

⁷Berquin, p. 220.

⁸Isaac Day, Scenes for the young; or pleasing tales, calculated to promote good manners and a love of virtue in children (London: Darton and Harvey, 1807), p. 11; see also [Margaret Hurry] Tales of instruction and amusement: Written for the use of young persons (London: J. Harris, 1807. 1st publ., 1795), p. 169.

⁹[John Aikin], The price of pleasure, in [Aikin, John] 1747-1822 and [Anna, Laetitia Barbauld] 1743-1825. Evenings at home; or Juvenile budget opened (London: J. Johnson, 1792-1796), II, 30-32.

have the ability to play the games of their betters.¹⁰

But, regardless of their class consciousness all were agreed that rudeness, roughness and an excess of enthusiasm were not quite proper, particularly with respect to girls.

The proprieties of girls' behaviour was understandably linked to the dress fashions of the time. A few authors, like Dorothy Kilner, spoke of the restrictions which girls' dresses imposed on their fun and frolic. One of her characters, Tom Brown, who is depicted full of enthusiasm to teach his sister the new games he has learnt at school, in addressing his sister in the story, writes:

. . . the worst of it is, that your petticoats will be so much in the way. I wish girls would wear trousers; I am sure if you did you would find them much more convenient, and like them a great deal better.¹¹

The more usual view was that found in The book of games where the following poem was included in a letter from

¹⁰ Sherwood, The Fairchild family, p. 284. Note: "During the time (1812-1850) few children of the gentry, to which class the families dividing Trade from Aristocracy belonged, can have escaped the influence of Mrs. Sherwood's peculiar genius." Naomi Royde Smith, The state of mind of Mrs. Sherwood (London: Macmillan, 1946), Intro., xiv.

¹¹ Dorothy Kilner, 1755-1836. First going to school or, Tom Brown, and his sisters (London: Tabart, 1809. 1st publ., 1804), p. 106. Note: The emphasis on care of clothes is undoubtedly a reflection of the new middle class values. Children very likely possessed only one gala dress and these as well as other clothes would be handed down to younger siblings in the large families.

brother to sister.

Besides, our boyish sports were ne'er design'd
T'afford amusement to a female mind.

Cricket and trapball are not games for you;
Then pray, dear Sophy, other sports pursue.
And if you do not wish to spoil your frocks,
Rumple and discompose your curling locks

Of school boy's sports I warn you to beware.¹²

In this author's opinion, girls should seek their exercise
in gardening or at shuttlecock.¹³

When John Trusler, a notable commentator on the
morals of children, wrote that he hoped that girls would see
the impropriety of boyish diversions, he repeated what the
other authors were saying in their tales.

How does it look, [he asks] to see a girl
playing at marbles, climbing up trees, bandying
of balls, riding on hobby horses, romping and
jumping with boys, in all their rude and rough
amusements? It is a disgrace to the sex, and
tends to destroy that delicate softness, which
constitutes female beauty.¹⁴

The Evangelical ladies, Arabella Argus, Sarah Trimmer and

¹²The book of games; or a history of juvenile sports, practised at a considerable academy [Kingston Academy] near London (London: Richard Phillips, 1812. 1st publ., 1805), p. 92.

¹³The book of games, p. 92.

¹⁴John Trusler, 1735-1810. The progress of man and society; from the cradle to the grave and from infancy to their present state (London: J. Sauter, [1810] . 1st publ., 1791), p. 21.

Elizabeth Turner most certainly supported him.¹⁵ However, as this lengthy examination by Isaac Taylor suggests, the issue required justification - especially so far as girls were concerned.¹⁶

Father: Why, James that you do not want to nurse the doll is no wonder; it is not a toy for you, the cricket bat becomes your hand better. But why speak with so much contempt of it for Eliza [your sister] .

[As James continues to tease his sister his father again intervenes.]

Father: Pray James, should you admire your sister Eliza, if she wanted to fly a kite, or play at leap-frog, or at cricket, as you do?

James: O dear, papa, Eliza play at cricket! I fancy she would never bowl me out. I do not think she could hit the ball once, much less send it over the hedge into the road, as I do.

Father: But that does not quite answer my question. Should you approve of her doing so, were she to attempt such boisterous games: would you not rather put her in mind of her doll, as much more becoming her sex.

¹⁵Argus, The juvenile spectator, p. 199. Sarah Trimmer, 1741-1810. Fabulous histories: for the instruction of children on their treatment of animals (London: T. Longman and G. and J. Robinson and J. Johnson, 1786), p. 42, and [Elizabeth Turner], The cowslip. Or more cautionary stories in verse (London: J. Harris, 1815. 1st publ., 1811). In "The Hoyden" she tells of Agnes who "lik'd better to play with rude boys, / Than work with her needle, or play with her toys/. . . ." When she meets with an accident she soon decides that "she never will play with rude boys any more." p. 41.

¹⁶Comparable justifications were not offered for the boys' diversions of cricket and kite flying.

James: Why, papa, I do suppose, for a girl, that is better.

Father: True, more proper as an amusement: but the doll may rank higher, I account it an important article in education.

[The father maintains that the true intent of education is to fit young persons for their probable stations in life.]

Father: Is Eliza likely ever to want to do any thing that resembles cricket, or marbles. But she may, perhaps, be called upon to do something very much like nursing a doll,
 . . .¹⁷

Similar beliefs to those outlined by Taylor regarding girls' activities were held by most of the women authors. For instance Mary Hughes explicitly stated that

Climbing is not at all fit for girls. Girls ought to play with dolls and skipping-ropes and work in their gardens, and such like things; but not to climb and romp as boys do. Boys often tare [tear] and dirty their clothes; but girls' clothes are much sooner spoiled . . .¹⁸

And Esther Copley epitomized the prevailing views when she told her readers that "It is as natural for a girl to like dolls and playhouses as for a boy to like toys and marbles."¹⁹

¹⁷[Isaac Taylor], 1759-1829. The child's birthday. Written by a father. Addressed both to parents and children (London: Darton, Harvey and Darton, 1815), pp. 13-15. Note: Later in the text (p. 68) he approved of the mother who joins in the games played by her son.

¹⁸[Mary Hughes], Pleasing and instructive stories for young children (London: William Darton, 1821), p. 32.

¹⁹Esther Copley, The young reviewers. Or the poems dissected (London: William Darton, 1821), p. 85.

Even though the consideration given by Dorothy Kilner to more appropriate clothing for girls was lost in the condemnation directed towards girls who chose to pursue boys' pursuits,²⁰ the question was not entirely closed. For instance, the little girl pictured in Mrs. Mant's story would liked to have joined with her brother in his game of cricket.²¹ She was not permitted to do so, but, keeping in mind the obligation of married women to be able to converse upon matters of interest with their husbands, the reader is advised, if a girl, to ask for information about the game from either her brother or her father.²²

Elizabeth Sandham portrayed the question of girl's participation as an issue to be settled by the children themselves. One particular scene she described opens with the younger sister, Jane, wondering whether her brother Edward will play at Battledore and Shuttlecock as he did last school holiday when they lived in the city.

²⁰[Dorothy Kilner], The village school; or, a collection of entertaining histories for the instruction and amusement of all good children (London: Marshall, [ca. 1795]), p. 29; see also The little teacher of reading and spelling well (London: Darton and Harvey, 1798), n.p.

²¹Alicia Catherine Mant, Tales for Ellen. Ellen and George, or the game of cricket (1st publ., 1825), in Forgotten tales of long ago ed. Edward Verrall Lucas (London: Wells Gardner, Darton [1906]), p. 189.

²²Mant, Tales, p. 186.

"But here, [in the country] she thinks, we may employ ourselves better, for we can run races in the garden." "What, a girl run races!" Said Charles, "I never heard such a thing; my brothers will play with me to be sure, and if we let you bring us the ball when we are at cricket, you may think it a great favour." - "I dare say I shall," answered Jane; "William and Edward must be very much altered if they will not let me play with them in a better way than that."²³

Maria Edgeworth depicted more realistic views of girls who though not encouraged to be boisterous and noisy climbed trees, ran races and played at ball. For example, Lucy who ran almost as fast as her brother, was very active in every exercise proper for a little girl.²⁴ The few authors who failed to demonstrate some preference for a distinction between suitable behaviour for girls and that for boys as they carried on their games and pastimes were mostly found in illustrated books and were probably written for the younger child. For example, in The Christmas gambols both girls and boys were illustrated enjoying Blind Man's Buff and the See-Saw.²⁵

²³[Elizabeth Sandham], The happy family at Eason House (London: T. Hurst, 1799), p. 120.

²⁴[Maria Edgeworth], 1767-1849. Harry and Lucy (London: J. Johnson, 1801), I, 226.

²⁵The Christmas gambols [Newington Butts, William Belch ca. 1825] . n.p.; see also The infant's library: A pleasing little book called the picture magazine (London: John Marshall, 1800); and Youthful recreations (Philadelphia: J. Johnson, [1810]. 1st publ., 1799). See page ten (10) where this author endorsed Skipping and Blind Man's Buff for girls but claimed Football was "not proper for girls."

The temptations which often led boys and occasionally girls to acts of wilful disobedience were ordinarily linked by some authors with the attraction of games and pastimes. In these situations the authors elaborated upon the severe consequences and summary punishments which befell the offenders. The resultant moral education based upon fear of tragic accidents and misadventures varied in degree of severity. There were, of course, practical reasons such as fear of injury to the children which made these mishaps more serious than one might consider them today. Text illustrations of such play items as Swings attached to the limbs of adjacent trees, See-Saws (Teeter Totters) made by precariously balancing planks of tombstones, tree stumps and latchgates highlight the potential dangers which the children faced.²⁶ Other problem areas which received attention were skating, archery and field hockey.²⁷ Apart from these reasons,

²⁶Antonia Fraser, A history of toys (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), p. 90 ff; see also Hughes, Pleasing, p. 31; Sherwood, The Fairchild family, I, p. 46; Mary Elliott, 1794-1866? Simple truths, in verse; for the amusement and instruction of children at an early age (London: W. Darton, 1816. 1st publ., 1812), pp. 31, 112; also by the same author, Early seeds to produce spring flowers (London: William Darton, [1824]), p. 11.

²⁷James Parkinson, 1755-1824. Dangerous sports: A tale addressed to children warning them against wanton, careless or mischievous exposure to situations from which alarming injuries so often proceed (London: H. Symonds, 1800). Parkinson said that the falls in ice skating are such that it is the height of madness for anyone to attempt it without being properly instructed, p. 97; see also The

acts of wilfulness and disobedience were looked upon by the majority of authors as mortal sins. Tree climbing exploits and swimming escapades were evidently seen by the authors as offering the greatest temptation to the children and were the typical situations chosen to exemplify the consequences of such misbehaviour.

Notwithstanding these factors in the context of the stories there were relatively few actual tragedies ending in loss of life.²⁸ It is apparent that in their stories, as distinct from books of religious instruction, the authors sought to both instruct and entertain, thus they did not dwell upon the dire consequences.²⁹ Not surprisingly in

book of games, p. 93, where the author depicted field hockey as a dangerous game which had been banned from many playgrounds. It is interesting to surmise the influence of this popular illustrated story book which went into numerous editions, as no further references to the game appeared until George Wood usurped the story structure and characters for his book, The Play Ground, in 1858. On this later occasion hockey was favourably presented.

²⁸Exceptions were Hannah More, 1745-1833. The works of Hannah More (Dublin: D. Graisbery, 1803), III, 243; Parkinson, p. 122; Kilner, The village school, p. 79; and Rev. George Burder, "Early piety," in The child's reward book, containing several narratives, peculiarly interesting to young persons (London: Religious Tract Society, ca. 1820), p. 48; see also Problems of the abuse of the Sabbath infra., pp. 122-123..

²⁹[William Beloe], 1755-1817. Incidences of a youthful life, or the history of William Langley in The child's reward, p. 92; and Elizabeth Somerville, b. 1774. James Manners, Little John, and their dog Bluff (London: Darton, Harvey and Darton, 1818), p. 78.

their pre-occupation with the salvation of the child from sin, the Evangelical authors were more prone to fill their stories with tales of woe than were other writers. A notable instance in this regard is the tale of the minister who kept a note of all drowning accidents which occurred on a Sunday aiming to make reference to them in his sermon.³⁰

Amenable and well behaved children were not expected to succumb to outbursts of temper or to lose their self control. Fighting which was agreeable neither to the laws of God nor to the ways of a gentleman³¹ was not, as a general rule condoned by the authors. Such wilful behaviour is not sanctioned on any account for girls.³² In his book aptly entitled, Dangerous sports: A tale addressed to children warning them against wanton, careless

³⁰More, The works of Hannah More (Dublin: D. Graisbery, 1803), III, 243.

³¹Esther Copley, The old man's head: or, youthful recollections (London: William Darton, 1824). Copley claimed that to fight a smaller boy was mean, to fight an older boy was dangerous and to fight at all was unchristian, p. 84; see also Sherwood, The Fairchild family, pp. 225-6; Mant, Tales, p. 192; and by the same author, Ellen, or the young Godmother. A tale for youth (4th ed.; London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1826. 1st publ., 1812), p. 31; Ellenor Fenn, 1743-1813, School dialogues, for boys. Being an attempt to convey instruction and sensibility to their tender minds, and instill the love of virtue (London: John Marshall, [1783?]), I, 126-131.

³²Argus, The juvenile spectator, p. 195.

or mischievious exposure to situations from which alarming injuries so often proceed, Dr. Parkinson adamantly decried such demonstrations for fear of "the possibility of robbing in a fit of passion, a fellow creature, a companion, a playmate of his life."³³

Thomas Day, the ingenious follower of the principles of Rousseau, put forward a contradictory view which appealed to the generous instincts of boyhood.³⁴ His favourable support of the ideal of manly training, courage and self reliance was reflected in one of his heroes, Little Jack, who had been taught to box and, it was claimed, could beat everyone in the neighbourhood.³⁵

In view of the great popularity of the work of both Day and Sherwood, the response of the latter to fighting offers and interesting variance in attitude. In one of her earlier stories, she emphatically denounced such an incident which arose between two boys from the lower

³³Parkinson, p. 144.

³⁴[Thomas Day], 1748-1789. The history of Sandford and Merton: A work intended for the use of children (London: F.C. and J. Rivington et al., 1818. 1st publ., 1785-89), Two volumes.

³⁵[Thomas Day], 1748-1789. The history of little Jack (London: John Stockdale, 1788), p. 30. Day placed great value on physical prowess.

"inferior" classes.³⁶ Later, in 1854, in a book co-authored with her daughter she described the "friendly battle" between two respectable middle class boys.

Brewster and Scratchley were going through as many manoeuvres to try to throw the other down as ever yet had been seen in the playground at Mr. Masefield's since boys had wrestled there.

Scratchley and Brewster were pretty well matched, and had often tried each other's strength before, never failing to shake hands heartily after every skirmish however hot they might have been during its continuance.³⁷

The contrast between the raw hero qualities illustrated in Thomas Day's character and Mrs. Sherwood's "gentlemen" who play at fighting highlights the development of a code of conduct based upon new middle class values largely borrowed from the aristocracy.

The evidence shown so far has viewed the adult as an onlooker, admonishing or protecting the children at their games. Although the educational theorists had proposed adult interest in children's games, few suggested that they join with the children except with the intention of better understanding the nature of the child. With the exception of the remarkable Dorothy Kilner, authors from this first period did not depict an adult figure as an

³⁶Sherwood, The Fairchild family, p. 225.

³⁷Mary Martha Sherwood and Sophia Kelly (Sherwood), b. 1815. Boys will be boys; or The difficulties of a school boy's mission (London: Darton, [1854]), p. 45.

actual participant with the children. She described a noisy game of chase with the father, his son and his daughter played in the family garden. All three enjoy the game which climaxes to an end when the father catches the boy and tosses him over his shoulder.³⁸

Although he was most emphatic about the type of games suitable for girls, Isaac Taylor was nevertheless approving of parents joining in their games. In one instance he said of the mother that she

. . . had made herself so completely their friend, and so often almost their playmate, that her presence was no hindrance to their amusement, but most commonly was felt as an increase, by the manner in which she shaped, directed or assisted their exercise.³⁹

Seldom a participant, the adult was always at hand to render almost every experience educational and often dull. Both the Headmaster in The book of games and the Father in a story from the companionable miscellany Evenings at home encouraged the boys in their first attempts

³⁸Kilner, First going to school, p. 106.

³⁹Taylor, p. 68; see also the little book, The art of teaching in sport (London: John Marshall, [ca. 1785]), in which the author recommended that parents occasionally join in the games of children (p. 6). The text dealt with the teaching of spelling, grammar and arithmetic by way of games.

at swimming.⁴⁰ The latter, asked whether corks or bladders should be used, advised,

No: Learn to depend on your own powers. It is a good lesson in other things, as well as swimming. Learning to swim with corks is like learning to construe Latin with a translation on the other side. It saves some pains at first, but the business is not done half so effectually.⁴¹

Whereas in this instance the father suggested that the boy ask one of his companions to assist him, in The book of games the older student is the recognized teacher of swimming and games.⁴² The young new boy is introduced by him to cricket, trap-ball, leap-frog, high jump, a game akin to fly, football and swimming.⁴³

In one story which portrayed children playing a

⁴⁰The book of games, pp. 60-69; and Aikin, "Flying and swimming," pp. 230-232.

⁴¹John Aikin, "Flying and swimming," p. 233.

⁴²The book of games, p. 108. Note: Godard, one of the older boys, offered the following instructions on leap-frog.

If the players are very expert one pace is sufficient; but I think we had better begin with about a dozen yards. Now then, stoop down boys, and mind you do not lift up your heads till it comes to your turn to be leaper, or you may chance to get an ugly blow yourselves, and perhaps hurt the boy who is going over you.

⁴³The book of games, pp. 99-104; 16-24; 105-110; 36-43; 152-4; 60-69.

game of soldiers, the presence of the older boy is shown to have the effect of keeping tempers in control.

Julius began to be piqued, when his brother pushed him rather closely, saying at the same time, "Come Julius, parry that thrust." Julius in a pet, threw down his sword; and probably his rising anger might have been excited against Frederick, had not their cousin Charles just then appeared in view; his presence restored good humour.⁴⁴

The author did not resort to an exposition upon the virtues of self control and the game (story) happily continued. The attitude of this author was remarkably favourable toward the adventuresome and imaginative world of the children's game for the time. Furthermore, in the text, the potential positive value of adult interest in the children's game was aptly demonstrated.

A positive view of leadership among the girls was less frequently in evidence. On one occasion, Mrs. Sherwood depicted Lucy, from The Fairchild family, as the popular and capable leader of the games at a party. When her brother claims that she "knew a thousand games," he is reminded that it is more accurate to say, she "knows many games."⁴⁵ In another instance from one of the women authors, Mrs. Pilkington, the heroine was described with a

⁴⁴The little deserter: or, holiday sports: an amusing tale: Dedicated to all good boys (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, [ca. 1825]), p. 33.

⁴⁵Sherwood, The Fairchild family, p. 341.

sweetness of temper and cheerfulness of manner which insured the affection of her young companions and it was noted that those games in which she was not a participant generally ended in quarrels and discontent.⁴⁶

The diversity of thought on the role of the adult figure in children's games was indicated in the content of the books reviewed from the first period. There is tacit and often direct recognition of the leadership role in establishing an acceptable social milieu for the time spent in the pursuit of their games. It is clear that the major concern of individual authors differed from one to the other but was predominately directed toward the behaviour of the boys.

The games and pastimes of the lower classes received slight attention from authors reviewed for this study. In general, when comments were made they tended to indicate that it was undesirable to be found playing with rude, idle and rough children of the lower classes who were not particularly able to engage in the simplest games of their "betters".⁴⁷ While the occasional condescending

⁴⁶Mary Pilkington, 1766-1839. Biography for girls; or Moral and instructive examples, for young ladies (London: Vernor and Hood, 1799), p. 78.

⁴⁷Sherwood, The Fairchild family, pp. 81, 271, 284. Note: Nevertheless gifts of bat and ball were included for the lesser children at the school.

author remarked upon such pursuits as skipping for keeping warm and hopscotch which required no equipment as being appropriate for the poor.⁴⁸ The majority of authors entirely ignored their existence, perhaps accepting the belief that poor children had no great interest in play. Like Aikin they probably saw the shepherd boy content in his station of life; happy with his football to kick in the cold weather and his stilts to wade the mud in the wet weather.⁴⁹ The renowned Mrs. Sherwood was more critical in her attitude toward these lower class children, claiming that in her opinion,

Some could not run faster than a sloth, some could not tell on whose side they were playing; another could not find out she was to run at puss-in-the-corner.⁵⁰

These negative attitudes toward the pursuits of the poor were, however, strongly counteracted by the views expressed by the radical extremist Thomas Day in his popular moralizing story of Sandford and Merton which appeared in numerous editions throughout the whole period of the study.⁵¹ He advocated that the healthy nature of the

⁴⁸Mary Elliott, 1794-1866. Precept and example, or midsummer holidays (London: W. Darton, jun., 1812), p. 89, and Youthful recreations, p. 10.

⁴⁹Aikin, "The little philosopher," p. 213-215.

⁵⁰Sherwood, The Fairchild family, p. 284.

⁵¹Gesiena Andrae, The dawn of juvenile literature in England (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1925), p. 93. Note:

physical activities demonstrated by the poor was far superior to the trappings of rich living.⁵² He favoured the Spartan way of life and believed that constant exercise and proper discipline were frequently able to change contemptible characters into good ones.⁵³

The sins of idleness among the aristocracy were highlighted by Aikin when he utilized the familiar pattern of naming the personalities of the story to suit their character.⁵⁴ He identified Lord Linger, in "The price of pleasure," as one who had no ability to apply himself to tasks, even those of his games. Lord Linger envies the village school boy who was both hard working and happy. Though other authors frowned upon the frivolous pastimes of the children of the upper class, Aikin and Day were by far

This book went into nine editions before 1812 and forty-three editions before 1883.

⁵²Day, Sandford and Merton, p. 203. Note: Thomas Day "in spite of his eccentricities, was a social critic who lived and wrote and died by his principles". The dictionary of national biography, p. 144. The character of his story Sandford and Merton were household words in the first half of the nineteenth century. See also Aikin "The price of pleasure," pp. 30-32.

⁵³Aikin, "The price of pleasure," pp. 246-247.

⁵⁴This was a common feature of the writers of this era. Among the more suggestive names were Edgeworth's Lazy Lawrence, Poor Loveit and Sensible; Kilner's Mr. Right, and his three troublesome village boys, Ben Heady, Jack Sneak and Roger Riot: and Francis Paget's Merrie Andrew Joliffe.

the more outspoken critics of their attitude toward games.⁵⁵

The idea of fair play was not alluded to in connection with the behaviour of girls, perhaps because for them to be dishonest was unheard of and, like the sins of play on the Sabbath, not to be talked about. More likely, the authors were not as interested in the involvement of girls in their games as they appear to have been for the boys. Furthermore, the games pursued by the girls were so structured as to offer little need of rule interpretation. For example, the simple game of Hen Coop which involved spinning around on the spot to make the skirt fly out and then crouching down at the peak of the spin, could not be compared with the skill required in the various games of marbles played by the boys.

There were several interpretations of just what was meant by fair play. Those made by Mrs. Mant were more explicit than most. She wrote that it was not fair play for the bowler to take advantage and bowl before the batter

⁵⁵Aikin, *The price of pleasure*, pp. 30-32; see also Day, *Sandford and Merton*, p. 46; Maria Edgeworth, "Lazy Lawrence," in *The parent's assistant; or stories for children* (London: J. Johnson, 1804. 1st publ., 1795), I, 25-27; Ellenor Fenn, *Rational sports. In dialogues passing among children of a family* (London: John Marshall, [1783]), I, xiii.

was ready.⁵⁶ This behaviour would be to break the rule of the game and to take an unfair advantage. Thus, the players were encouraged to play by the rules and so enjoy a game without argument. Nor did the author consider it right for the skilful bowler to adjust his pace and favour the inexperienced batter. According to Mrs. Mant's adult interpretation of the situation, such behaviour was deceitful because the bowler's team consequently lost the game;⁵⁷ thus demonstrating for the reader, the moral that deceit is never practised harmlessly.⁵⁸ The same author, whose story appeared in 1825, implied that gentlemanly conduct was shown by shaking hands to settle differences. Her solution to the problem of evening up the contest was to allow the weaker opponent to begin play with a bonus of notches or runs.⁵⁹

Considerably greater understanding of the nature of children is shown in the dialogue written by an anonymous author for the unhappy soldier in an adventure game called The little deserter. Here the children's own ideas of fair play were demonstrated as Julius who had somewhat reluctantly fulfilled the role of "Deserter" all

⁵⁶Mant, Tales, p. 190.

⁵⁷Mant, Tales, p. 192.

⁵⁸Mant, Tales, p. 190.

⁵⁹Mant, Tales, p. 192.

afternoon has the final word, "tomorrow, he said, it is my turn to play the Captain!"⁶⁰

The familiar proverb that without fair play there could be no pleasure in winning was presented in a variety of circumstances. Mrs. Wakefield related the anxiety of the young six year old who was afraid to go to sleep after he won a game of marbles through a mistake, telling his mother: "I was so pleased at being conqueror, I had not the courage to show them their error."⁶¹ In another instance the popular author Dorothy Kilner, depicted the young man in her little story The good child's delight graciously giving his brother part of the prize he won in their race, saying that "if his own foot had slipped and thrown him down he should have liked Tom to have given him some" ⁶² The possibility that victory might occur by misadventure was also realized by Maria Edgeworth. In the situation she described action centres upon Loveit, the good natured boy and Tarlton, the scoundrel, playing at

⁶⁰The little deserter, p. 65.

⁶¹Priscilla Wakefield, 1751-1832. Juvenile Anecdotes founded on facts collected for the amusement of children (London: Harvey and Darton, 1825. 1st publ., 1795), pp. 65-66.

⁶²[Dorothy Kilner], The good child's delight (London: John Marshall, 1785), p. 72; see also Isaac Day, Scenes for the young (London: Darton and Harvey, 1807), p. 15.

shuttlecock.

For another minute the victory was doubtful, but at length the setting sun, shining full in Loveit's face, so dazzled his eyes that he could no longer see the shuttlecock and it fell at his feet.

After the first shout for Tarlton's triumph was over everybody exclaimed, "Poor Loveit! He's the best natured fellow in the world: what a pity he did not stand with his back to the sun."⁶³

The focus in this instance was upon the significance of being the winner. Without fair play there could be no honour - either given or received - for victory.

Occasionally both male and female authors remarked favourably upon skill at games. For instance,⁶⁴ Priscilla Wakefield considered that one characteristic possessed by her model for little boys to imitate, was the ability to be skilled in all the different sports and to strike a ball with a bat better than any of his companions.⁶⁵ An

⁶³Edgeworth, The parents assistant, I, 76; see also Maria Edgeworth, "Forester and the Campbell family" in Moral tales for young people (London: J. Johnson, 1802), I, 31. Note: Where she claimed that while it might be a good thing to be able to walk a number of miles without fatigue, it was not necessarily the highest perfection of human nature.

⁶⁴Wakefield, p. 6. Note: She also described the hero of an anecdote entitled "The triumph of reason", as a boy distinguished by his adroitness in all bodily exercises, p. 51. The book of games, pp. 24-75; Sherwood, The Fairchild family, p. 284.

⁶⁵Wakefield, p. 6. Note: See also The book of games, p. 135, in which the author rates Sophia's prowess at skipping very highly; and Maria Edgeworth, The parent's assistant, I, 75-125.

awareness of the problems which those less skilful as recommended in A nosegay for the trouble of culling; or Sports of childhood⁶⁶ was distinctly lacking. In this book, the reader is candidly told that "that not all have great skill at cricket" and that leap-frog is not recommended for fat boys.⁶⁷ Prowess in swimming was recognized and boys were encouraged to learn.⁶⁸ Hannah More tells of the indecent exploitation of those who do possess physical skill. In the particular incidence it is explained that the unsavoury character Black Giles,

. . . was at one time in hopes that his children might have got a pretty penny by tumbling for the diversion of travellers, and he set about training them in that indecent practice; but unluckily the moors being level, the carriages travelled faster than the children tumbled.⁶⁹

⁶⁶A nosegay for the trouble of culling; or sports of childhood (London: Wm. Darton, jun., 1813).

⁶⁷A nosegay, p. 42. Note: The following rhyme from the text gave some encouragement for those who aspired to the leap-frog. "So if no expert,/ Let him practice awhile,/ Lest he roll in the dirt/ And provoke a rude smile." p. 35.

⁶⁸Parkinson, p. 89; Aikin, "Flying and swimming," pp. 230-232; The book of games, p. 69; Richard Lovell Edgeworth, 1744-1817, School lessons (Dublin: The author, 1817), p. 88. Note: Edgeworth included instruction on resuscitation.

⁶⁹Hannah More, 1745-1833. The works of Hannah More (Dublin: D. Graisberry, 1803), III, 223. Note: In contrast to Mrs. Sherwood, it has been said that though Hannah More "spent much of her life in the society of the great and splendid she never did wear jewel or trinket." Robert William, Memoirs of the life of Mrs. Hannah More (4th ed.; London: R.B. Seeley, 1836), II, 472. Her work, as that of Mrs. Sherwood, was committed to the education of the poor.

Although in this instance the infamous poacher gained nothing for his trouble the practice was a familiar one near the cities and on the downs.⁷⁰ Apart from the distinction that boys were expected to be more skilful than girls, little significance was given to the issue; the matter was of secondary importance and was always proposed as an adjunct to goodness.

In view of this it is not surprising that gentlemanly behaviour demanded that the winners refrain from boasting of their prowess. Those who offended in this way before the event might well expect to lose.⁷¹ Those who boasted afterward were reprimanded, their behaviour being comparable to that of the "ignorant savages" of the New World. As the author of The book of games stated,

I have known boys who possessed ten or twelve of these trophies at one time, which they would show about with as much triumph as an Indian savage displays the number of scalps he has torn from his enemies.⁷²

⁷⁰More, The works, III, 223.

⁷¹The book of games, pp. 75, 149. Note: For example, at the party given for Lord Melbourne's thirteenth birthday, prizes for an archery contest included a Queen Elizabeth Half Crown and an Edward VI shilling. The reader of the story is informed that "the boastful shooter was not the successful winner." Later in the same story when the boys were trying out their new slide, the author again drew attention to the folly of boasting. George claimed that he would perform a good slide! In response to the "loud shout of laughter as he falls," he declared "I deserve to fall down for boasting so!"

⁷²The book of games, 1812 ed.; p. 136.

Furthermore it was advised that it was best to return one's winnings, for to keep them would be akin to gambling, which, of course, "all boys will dislike and disdain." These issues had so perturbed Mrs. Trimmer that editions which appeared after her review of The book of games included new text which covered the moral dangers when games such as spinning tops and marbles were "played for keeps."⁷³

The spirit of competition was not often in evidence in this early period. Neither Mrs. Hurry nor Arabella Argus were enthused about competition as they believed that it would lead to bad manners and rough behaviour.⁷⁴ In contrast, the more entertaining author, Maria Edgeworth, confidently displayed the tense excitement of the match between the "bad" Tarlton and the "good, but misguided," poor Loveit. She successfully captured the audience

⁷³Note: Two references, additions located in the 1812 edition, were apparently made in response to the review by Mrs. Trimmer which appeared in The Guardian of Education in 1805. (1) The boys are advised to use a cheap centre top. "After all, I think this method of play has too much the appearance of barbarity and the spirit of gambling which all boys will dislike and avoid." p. 136. (2) ". . . he is the winner who possesses three marbles; which, however, he is to return to the ring, and not keep them, for that would be gambling; and the game is renewed as before." p. 156.

⁷⁴[Margaret Hurry], Tales of instruction and amusement: Written for the use of young persons (London: J. Harris, 1807. 1st publ., 1795), p. 129; Argus, p. 195.

interest in the match when she wrote,⁷⁵

. . . the arms of the combatants grew so tired, that they could scarcely wield the battledores:- the shuttlecock began to waver in the air; now it almost touched the ground, and now, to the astonishment of the spectators, mounted again high over their heads; yet the strokes became feebler and feebler; and "Now Loveit!" Now "Tarlton!" resounded on all sides.⁷⁶

As might be expected, girls were seldom considered within this context, and skilful contestants and winners were usually good boys. The "goodly" young boys in The book of games and the heroes in Thomas Day's stories excelled in their various games,⁷⁷ while in A nosegay the author significantly regarded the winners as "proud victors."⁷⁸

Despite the positive views of a number of authors, the claim by Isaac Taylor that to associate honour with such useless achievement as winning in games, likely reflected the unspoken attitude of the majority.⁷⁹ Few

⁷⁵Poor Loveit's name arose from his great weakness in that he wanted to be loved by all and so failed to stand up against those who would lead him astray.

⁷⁶Edgeworth, "Tarlton" in The parent's assistant, I, 76. In Maria Edgeworth's stories the good child always prospers.

⁷⁷The book of games, p. 136; Day, Sandford and Merton, p. 203; Mant, Tales, p. 192.

⁷⁸A nosegay, p. 43.

⁷⁹Isaac Taylor, 1759-1829. Scenes in Asia, for the amusement and instruction of little tarry-at-home travellers (London: Harris, 1819), p. 86.

authors wrote on this aspect and not unexpectedly it is the author who wrote A nosegay . . . or sports of childhood, who used the term "proud" victors and suggested that the honour of winning was a more appropriate reward than the receipt of the spoils of victory. The example referred to the habit of accumulating spinning tops. The writer, thought to be Mary Elliott, stated,

Fair play is the best play, so let every
boy keep his top, though the winner be allowed
the honour of the game.⁸⁰

This reference, together with the concern that to hoard one's winnings was not entirely desirable in a "good" boy, suggests that some authors recognized a functional structure in the game itself. Their views might also be considered to have fore-shadowed the Olympic ideology of the honour of winning.

For young children unequivocal approval of time occupied in the pursuit of games and pastimes was common for those activities which were observed as serving to "raise the spirits" or providing innocent and harmless ways of filling in time.⁸¹ Some authors felt that children "ought

⁸⁰A nosegay, p. 39.

⁸¹Wakefield, p. 207. Note: Here she aptly stated that "The natural activity of children impels them to be always busy; and those who neither love reading nor working nor amusing themselves in harmless play, but loiter about without fixing their attention on any particular object are continually in danger of doing something which they ought not to do."

to be like squirrels and skip about and be happy."⁸² Boys, they believed, could "never be dull when they have such various methods of engaging their leisure hours."⁸³ In a few stories childhood was recalled by the authors as a time of pleasure in the adventures of games and pastimes.⁸⁴ It was thought normal for children to be attracted to such activities which brought them happiness⁸⁵ and most authors agreed that though such activities were necessary it must not be forgotten that children were not put into this world only to play.

They must work and grow wiser and become good and useful and think of God and his good works.⁸⁶

⁸²Mary Hughes, Pleasing and instructive stories for young children (London: William Darton, 1821), p. 98.

⁸³Mary Elliott, 1794?-1866? Early seeds to produce spring flowers (London: William Darton, 1824), p. 12.

⁸⁴John Aikin, "The native village," p. 281.

⁸⁵[Ellenor Fenn, (Lady)] 1743-1813. School dialogues, for boys. Being an attempt to convey instruction insensibly to their tender minds, and instill the love of virtue (London: J. Marshall, [1783]. Note: The author advises the little boy to watch the others at their play as it will make him happier to see others well pleased. p. 71.

⁸⁶Emily Taylor, 1795-1872. Letters to a very little girl, from her aunt (London: Harvey and Darton, 1820), p. 14; see also Aikin, "The boy without a genius," III, 53. Note: He maintained that few boys will take up anything of their own accord but a top or marble; Mary Elliott, 1794-1866. Simple truths in verse (London: W. Darton, jun., 1816. 1st publ., 1812), p. 114.

The authors showed that it could not be over-emphasized that children ought never to go to their games until they had attended to their duties to God and to their parents.⁸⁷

At times, the authors found it necessary to reconcile their belief on the one hand that health benefits might accrue if some time were devoted to games and pastimes, and on the other hand, that other occupations of time were obviously more useful. For some, the ideal boy tended to fit the description "sedate and manly and so extremely fond of reading and application that he could scarcely be persuaded to devote any time to play."⁸⁸

⁸⁷[Dorothy Kilner], 1755-1836. The village school; or, A collection of entertaining histories for the instruction and amusement of all good children (London: J. Marshall [ca. 1795]), p. 87; see also [Jane Taylor] "The industrious boy," in Original poems for infant minds by [Jane Taylor] and [Ann Gilbert] (London: Darton, Harvey and Darton, 1818. 1st publ., 1804-5).

⁸⁸Mary Pilkington, 1766-1839. Biography for boys; or, Characteristic histories (London: Vernor and Hood, 1800), p. 37; Barbara Hofland, 1770-1844. The daughter of a genius: A tale for youth (3rd ed.; London: John Harris, 1826), p. 85; Sherwood, The Fairchild family, p. 271. Note: Mrs. Sherwood instructed the children that they might work at their gifts for the poor at any of their play hours excepting the walking time. In her memoirs, Mrs. Sherwood recorded that

"It was the fashion then for children to wear iron collars round the neck, with a back board strapped over the shoulders: to one of these I was subjected from my 6th to my 13th year. It was put on in the morning and seldom taken off till late in the evening; and I generally did all my lessons standing in stocks Yet, I was a happy child: and when relieved

Others recommended activities such as shuttlecock for both boys and girls for their health value. As the physician Parkinson advised,

But, my light-hearted little rogues, a feather or two and a cork for me. I would not give a penny for the boy, or even the man, who has the free use of his limbs, who could not sport away an hour with such charming aid.

You all know I allude to the shuttlecock. Only consider the various positions the game of battledore and shuttlecock employs;

How earnestly is the eye engaged!

How actively is every limb employed!

"Indeed, Madam, it is truly curious to see, in this sport that almost every muscle in the body is called into action; and that the whole might of a man be employed to a bat four feathers and a cork."⁸⁹

from my collar, I not unseldom manifested my delight by starting from our hall door, and taking a run for at least half a mile through the woods"

Cited in Naomi Ryde Smith, The state of mind of Mrs. Sherwood (London: Macmillan, 1946), p. 27.

⁸⁹Parkinson, p. 97. Note: The name "battledore" goes back in origin to the original children's battledore or Horn book. It was shaped like a square bat with a handle and carried the letters of the alphabet and simple lessons to be learnt. The simple games mentioned in the stories usually required the shuttle to be kept in the air. No net or court boundaries appear in the descriptions nor in the illustrations. For additional information see A.W. Tuer, The history of the horn book (London: Leadenhall Press, 1896); and Beulah Folmsbee, A little history of the Horn book (Boston: The Hornbook Inc., 1942).

Yet, few authors indeed seem to have felt that interest in games and pastimes needed to be fostered, particularly where girls were concerned,⁹⁰ exceptions were Priscilla Wakefield, Mrs. Hofland and Elizabeth Sandham all of whom were particularly outspoken on the need for children to exercise.⁹¹ The morning walk which they among others promoted was seen at least to partially fulfil needs for exercise. Notably in the health program advocated by Mrs. Hofland, "a skipping rope in the garden and occasionally an evening dance in the school room," took preference over the walk.⁹² As far as girls were

⁹⁰Dame Truelove's tales, now first published as useful lessons for little misses and masters (London: J. Harris [1817]), p. 55. Note: The author stated that

Charlotte could throw her skipping rope, over her head and over her shoulders, and cross it in many ways which I cannot describe, for I am an old woman and know nothing about skipping; but this I know, that although she could do these things, she could not read and therefore could not be considered to be clever.

⁹¹Wakefield, pp. 48, 102 ff; see also Barbara Hofland, 1770-1844. The daughter of a genius; a tale for youth (3rd ed.; London: John Harris, 1826), p. 85; Sandham, The happy family, p. 117 and by the same author, Sketches of young people; or a visit to Brighton (London: Harvey and Darton, 1822), p. 19; Hurry, Tales of instruction, p. 38. Note: Not to be forgotten in this respect is the advice of [Legh Richmond], 1727-1827 in Domestic Portraiture, or the successful application of religious principle in the education of a family. Exemplified in the memoirs of three of the deceased children of the Rev. Legh Richmond (London: R.B. Seeley, 1843. 1st publ., 1833), p. 135. He claimed that "to read yourself blind, deaf, stupid and nervous, is really a great folly, . . . always take exercise in the best part of the day."

⁹²Hofland, p. 85.

concerned there was little to praise except performances of intricate steps at skipping and the author of The book of games particularly admired one girl who could keep skipping for half an hour without stopping.⁹³ On the other hand some authors proposed that it was not desirable for even little boys to become hot and uncomfortable from their exertion.⁹⁴

Throughout the period, children were encouraged to show the same earnestness when engaged in their games as they did in their work. Aikin approved this view when he contrasted the wasteful life of the indulged rich young Lord with that of the boys at school. The latter when asked about the limited time for play said exuberantly: "But we play heartily when we do play, and work when we work,"⁹⁵ before rushing off to take his turn at trap. The redoubtable Isaac Taylor presented a similar view in verse.

Be active, ye youths, in amusement and play,
Whatever you do, do it well;

⁹³The book of games, p. 135; see also Elliott, Early seeds, p. 12.

⁹⁴Frances Bowyer Miller, 1785-1854. Henry: A story intended for little boys and girls from five to seven years old (London: William Darton, 1825. 1st publ., 1815-16), p. 19; see also Trimmer, Fabulous histories, p. 45.

⁹⁵Aikin, "The price of pleasure," p. 31.

Set about it in earnest, be sprightly and gay,
For then is the chance to excel.⁹⁶

In a few instances time occupied in the pursuit of games was recognized as an appropriate reward for earnest and industrious behaviour. Furthermore it was believed to offer relaxation from mental concentration and promote better performance as a result. For example the diligence of the boys in The book of games was such that they were instructed to take a break before endeavouring to complete their studies.⁹⁷ Time was justified for some authors in those pursuits through which learning could be promoted. Mary Hughes recognized the interest of children in their toys and discussed the technical aspects of the sound produced by the children's humming tops.⁹⁸ James Parkinson's lengthy homily on dangerous sports acknowledged

⁹⁶Isaac Taylor, 1759-1829. Scenes in Asia, for the amusement and instruction of little tarry-at-home travellers (London: Harris and son, 1819), p. 87. Note: The connotation of earnestness was to become a dominant factor in the Muscular Christian Movement which appeared after 1857.

⁹⁷The book of games, p. 93; see also Argus, The juvenile spectator, I, 27; Maria Edgeworth, The parents assistant, I, 25; Esther Copley, The old man's head: or youthful recollections (London: William Darton, 1824), p. 9; Somerville, James manners, Little John, p. 18.

⁹⁸[Mary Hughes], Stories for children; chiefly confined to words of two syllables (London: J. Harris, 1804), pp. 33-36.

the value of preventing accidents if children understood the motion and action of the "tools" of their play. For instance:

Never stand opposite to anyone who is spinning his top, nor sufficiently near to his side to receive it on your head should it hang in the string.⁹⁹

For some authors it was believed that the enjoyment of instruction would be perpetual if the teacher had the art of mixing it with bodily exercise.¹⁰⁰ Seldom was it apparent that authors practised such beliefs.

Even though to the majority of the authors games and pastimes of children appeared very trivial things in themselves, their descriptions and comments suggest that they found in their observations of children engaged in these activities an opportunity to discover children's real dispositions and nature. Arabella Argus, a well known author of this period, clearly supported this belief.¹⁰¹ Furthermore James Parkinson commenting upon the link between the morally good boy of the time and games and pastimes perceived that "he who was not genius enough to play well will seldom do anything else well."¹⁰² Thus in effect, the authors believed that time given to these

⁹⁹Parkinson, p. 64. ¹⁰⁰Youthful recreations, p. 10.

¹⁰¹Argus, II, 35. ¹⁰²Parkinson, p. 62.

pursuits was not to be condemned but rather tolerated and accepted as natural to childhood.

Just as the reward system approved some time spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes, those who chose to spend too much time in those pursuits met punishment and damnation. Dire warnings and tales of misadventure were the favoured approaches taken by the authors wishing to restrain children from seeking enjoyment from their games and pastimes on the Sabbath. Indicative of the lessons to be learnt were Hannah More's remarks upon those boys who drowned on the Sabbath and "sinful Jack" who wasted his time playing Fives and, as a consequence, failed to reach the bedside of his dying mother.¹⁰³ The attraction and consequences of play was something which the child had to learn to reckon with. As Margaret Hurry warned,

To you who are a child, play may be called the
honey which would seduce you with its sweets
. . . constant play disgusts, and pleasure
beyond certain bounds degenerates into pain.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³Hannah More, 1745-1833. "Black Giles the poacher," in The works of Hannah More (Dublin: D. Graisbery, 1803), III, 243, and "The two shoemakers," III, 48, 75; see also Catherine Mant, Ellen, or the young Godmother. A tale for youth (4th ed.; London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1826. 1st publ., 1812), p. 31.

¹⁰⁴[Margaret Hurry], Tales of instruction and amusement (London: J. Harris, 1807. 1st publ., 1795), p. 91; see also [Ellenor Fenn], 1743-1813. Cobwebs to catch flies or, Dialogues in short sentences, adapted to children from the age of three to eight years (London: John Marshall, [ca. 1815]), I, i. Note: Several authors

Participation in games and pastimes was sanctioned only for those good children who kept the Sabbath faithfully. One interesting explanation of this requirement was offered by Dr. Benson to two boys who wished to settle the question of why walking was permissible on the Sabbath and skating was not, when, in their opinion, they were only different ways of taking exercise.

All amusements, which tend to disturb the tranquillity of the day, to unsettle the mind, and to remove our attention from better things are very blameworthy indeed. . . . A person may think or read when walking, as well as sitting, which they cannot do when skating;

[Charles responds] It is improper to read books simply of amusement, and all the games I know are condemned.¹⁰⁵

It exemplifies in a typical educational manner, the priorities with which most authors viewed the value of time given to exercise. These were undeniably adult standards

referred to these lines by the influential Evangelical poet Isaac Watt.

Why should I love my sport so well,
So constant at my play.
And lose my thoughts of Heav'n and Hell;
And then forget to pray?

1st publ., in 1715 in Isaac Watts, 1674-1748. Divine songs, attempted in easy language for children (7th ed.; Burslem: John Tregortha, 1800), p. 59.

¹⁰⁵[Edward White Benson], Education at home: or a father's instructions. Consisting of miscellaneous pieces for the instruction and amusement of young persons, from ten to twelve years of age (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1824), p. 111; see also pp. 105-111 same text.

and can hardly be imagined as those which the boys would find satisfactory.

The authors' attitude toward time being spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes was essentially one of resistance. Health values were recognized but, except in a few instances, were seen as secondary to the more important aspects of moral values to be learnt. Though to a limited extent, descriptions of children's ventures in their games and pastimes offered positive behaviour models, situations where rude, rough and boisterous misdeeds which must be curbed were dealt with predominated the literature. Besides such activities were looked upon as temptations and were not simply viewed as productive of innocent enjoyment and mental relaxation. The Evangelical ideas of sinfulness in the pursuit of amusement conflicted with both Rousseau's theories of natural activity and learning from experience, and with the more prevalent English view of Locke on the need for activity as a release from the anxieties and stress of formal learning.

The intention of authors was clearly to re-inforce standards of good manners and only incidentally to entertain the reader. When they suggested that the idle habits of the gentry were not desirable and promoted earnestness of purpose in the use of time, they reflected the emerging and

distinctive values of the New Middle Class. Their concern for propriety and rejection of rude and rough manners was indicative of the aspirations of this New Middle Class to be accepted within the upper levels of society. In their pre-occupation with the manners of the participants they directed more attention toward the boys than the girls. The resultant disregard of the girls' behaviour particularly with regard to girls' games presents another factor in the eventual evolvement later in the century of an essentially different game culture for boys than for girls. It was during this early period, 1780-1825 that direction of the content moved away from the generalized reference to children to the more specific directives to boys alone.

Chapter V

TRANSITION AND NEW DIRECTIONS

1825 - 1855

The transitional character of the nineteenth century is manifested in both the persistence of attitudes from the first to the second time period and the appearance of beliefs and values not previously identified. Thus, although the major areas of content matter for this period - sex role, proprieties, manners, morals and the justification of time spent pursuing games and pastimes, are essentially the same as those for the previous period, the focus of attention differs. Whereas in the first period the primary purpose of the majority of authors had been to instruct in manners and morals and the theme (the pursuit of games and pastimes) had proved a convenient means to accomplish this intention, authors from the second period increasingly advanced the theme itself for the purpose of unbending the mind, (diverting attention from serious matters to the more trivial occupations) exercising the body and promoting learning.¹ In contrast

¹Eliza Leslie, 1787-1858, The girl's book of diversions or occupation for play hours (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1835. 1st publ., in Boston, 1831), xvi; see also William Martin, 1801-1867; "Preface" in The book of sports for boys and girls. Containing games, recreation and amusements for the playroom and playground at home or at school (London: Darton, 1853. 1st publ., 1837); John Ayrton Paris, Philosophy in sport. Made

to the period prior to 1825, there was more evident variance and some uncertainty in both the attitudes which the authors held regarding the acceptable behaviour for children during their games and pastimes and in their feelings toward the participation of girls.

The moral tale continued, focusing more upon the school situation than upon the familiar party and domestic scenes of the previous period. Books which dealt almost completely with reminiscences of the enjoyable diversions of boyhood years replaced the occasional recollection found in the earlier years.² Encyclopaedic or informative books on games and pastimes for girls and boys supplemented

science in earnest! Being an attempt to illustrate the first principles of natural philosophy (London: 1852. 1st publ., 1827), p. 18; [William Clarke], 1800-1838. The boys own book: A complete encyclopaedia of all the diversions, athletic, scientific, and recreative, of boyhood and youth (London: Vizetelly, Branston, 1831. 1st publ., 1828), p. 8; In school and out of school, or, the history of William and John. An interesting tale by one who knows both (London: Dean and Munday, 1827), p. 63.

²[George Mogridge], 1788-1854. The boy's week-day book (London: Religious Tract Society, 1836. 1st publ., 1833); see also William Howitt, 1792-1879. The boy's country-book: being the real life of a country boy, written by himself; exhibiting all the amusements, pleasures, and pursuits of children in the country (London: Longman Orme et al., 1841. 1st publ., 1839); and [William Pitt Scargill], 1787-1836. Recollections of a Blue Coat boy or a view of Christ's Hospital (1829; rpt. Johnson, 1968).

other attractive and entertaining books about games,³ which simultaneously improved in quality and content.⁴ At no time did the intention to instruct in good moral behaviour and manners vanish. However, this intention became of less immediate concern than the portrayal of the subject matter of the games and pastimes themselves.⁵ Yet, taking all these considerations into account it is difficult to imagine that when, in the description of the game of Hare and Hounds organized by several girls and boys, no censure was given as one of the girls declared that:

³Clarke; see also Martin, The book of sports; Leslie; Lydia Maria Child, 1802-1880. The little girl's own book (3rd ed.; London: Thomas Tegg, 1832. 1st publ., in Boston, 1831); see also Jehoshaphat Aspin. Ancient customs, sports, and pastimes of the English; explained from authentic sources, and in a familiar manner (London: John Harris, 1832. 1st publ., 1825); W. Montague. The youth's encyclopaedia of health with games and playground amusements (London: J. Williams, 1838); Peter Parley, pseud. Peter Parley's book of gymnastics: A legacy to promote the health and long life of his youthful friends (London: S. Lingham, [ca. 1840]).

⁴Solomon Lovechild, pseud. Sports of youth, describing the recreations of each season: Accompanied with verses adapted to every month of the year: intended as a remembrancer for all good children (London: Orlando Hodgson, [ca. 1830]); see also Fireside amusements (London: William and Robert Chambers, 1850). The boy's almanack for 1849 (London: Joseph Cundall and David Bogue [1848.]).

⁵There were of course exceptions. In particular, Anna Hall who, like Arabella Argus, in the first period, utilized the game setting to teach lessons on the use of proper language, correcting Tom in his use of the word "capital", when he described a skilful school mate as a 'capital' fellow. Anna Maria Hall, 1880-1881. The Hartopp jubilee; or, profit from play (London: Darton and Clark [1840?]), p. 131.

"I am determined I will not be caught.
Bob, I will give you sixpence if you catch
me."

"Done," said Bob. Bob drew this time.
"Who do you think is drawn this time?"
he said, looking at the paper. "Augustus."

"To hunt or be hunted?" asked Augustus.

"To hunt."

"I will lay a shilling I catch you,
Carry," said Augustus.

"Very well," said Caroline.⁶

The earlier Evangelical authors such as Arabella Argus or Mrs. Trimmer would never have approved the gambling which these children planned.⁷ In fact it is unlikely that they would have even considered such behaviour for inclusion. An exception would have been the story of "Lazy Lawrence" published in 1795 where Maria Edgeworth utilized the contrast between the good boy Jem, who played games with much enthusiasm in his limited free time and was well liked by his playmates, and Lawrence, an unhappy wastrel who spent his time gambling at the coach-house and as a consequence had no energy to enjoy the games with the other boys.⁸

⁶Bob and dog Quizz, in Simple tales for the young in Old fashioned tales. Edward Verral Lucas, Compiler (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1905 . 1st publ., 1847), p. 310. Note: Even though the amounts of money may simply reflect the author's desire to heighten the excitement, gambling was a popular pastime of both the aristocracy and the lower classes.

⁷Supra., pp. 85, 112.

⁸Maria Edgeworth, 1767-1849. "Lazy Lawrence" in The parents assistant (London: J. Johnson, 1804. 1st publ., 1795), I, 25-27.

In comparison with the grim advice which had been offered by such authors as Parkinson, More, Sherwood, Trimmer, Hughes on the dangers to be found in adventures in games and pastimes, the authors from the second period were less daunting in their approach. For example, this self-righteous listing prepared by Mogridge is not nearly as intimidating to young readers as the stories of injury and death offered with the same intent in the first period. He summarized his good advice to the readers reminding them to,

Avoid dangerous sports
 Neither bathe nor drink cold water when hot
 Never drop down, or leap from a great height
 Do not climb high trees, nor eat freely of fruit
 Carry no burdens, and lift no weight beyond your
 strength
 Fear God and love your Fellow creatures.⁹

SEX ROLE - PROPRIETIES

While the women continued to remonstrate and voice concern over the appropriate conduct for girls and boys in their play, the men showed little interest. Instead they placed more emphasis upon the question of superior physical prowess of boys, sometimes in comparison with that of the girls. The latter issue did not attract debate to any real extent, but definite views were expressed on several occasions. One such example from the Paris book is in reference to the use of the sling.

⁹Mogridge, The boy's week-day, p. 82.

Louisa challenged Tom to a trial of skill. She fancied that she could hurl a stone with greater accuracy than her brother; but after several contests she acknowledged herself vanquished, for Tom had succeeded in striking the trunk of an old tree at a considerable distance while his sister was never able to throw the stone within several yards of the mark. "Well done, Tom!" exclaimed Mr. Seymour.¹⁰

Similarly, despite the happy acceptance of the girls in the game of Hare and Hounds reported earlier in this chapter, when it came to a race between the sexes in the same story, Tom gave the girls five yards start. Rather nicely, the reader is then informed that Tom "beats them hollow even though they ran very fast."¹¹

Few authors encouraged the girls to participate with boys, and, in fact restrictions on the type of activities suitable for girls as compared with boys were still clearly evident. In Mrs. Mozley's opinion, girls did not skate but might go to watch the boys on the ice, neither did they climb trees or engage in activities in which they might tear clothes or attract attention.¹²

¹⁰Paris, p. 131. Note: See also Thackeray's description of the unfortunate Mr. Bullock who "holds a cricket bat no better than Miss Raby." [William Makepeace Thackeray], 1811-1863. Doctor Birch and his friends (London: Chapman and Hall, 1849), p. 26.

¹¹⁶⁶Bob and dog Quizz," p. 335. Note: Not surprisingly, when the boys raced each other it was noted that they were "pretty even in speed."

¹²[Harriet Elizabeth Mozley], 1803-1852. The fairy bower, or the history of a month. A tale for young

When the young ladies in her story became cold while standing watching the boys and sought to keep warm by jumping back and forth over a small gate, they were informed that a good brisk walk was more circumspect for girls.¹³ Even in the Crusoe story by Ann Tytler, Leila on the island, where such decorum would seem out of place, Leila is told not to climb trees and tear her frocks.¹⁴

There still appeared occasional declarations which described activities as being too rough when girls and boys played together.¹⁵ But, increasingly encouragement was given to the participation by girls in games traditionally viewed as being for boys only.¹⁶ In these instances the directives were for the girls to play these games with girls and the boys their games with boys. The eminent Mrs. Child recommended that, provided they are

people (3rd ed.; London: James Burns and Henry Mozley & Sons, 1843. 1st publ., 1841), p. 97.

¹³Mozley, p. 97.

¹⁴Ann Fraser Tytler, Leila; or, the island (2nd ed.; London: J. Hatchard, 1841. 1st publ., 1833), p. 95.

¹⁵Hall, The Hartop jubilee, p. 16. Note: The author rejected the boy's preference for Slap the Hand and approved Puss in the Corner as it was not so rough.

¹⁶Child, p. 41. Note: Skipping at this time was favoured for both girls and boys but hoop rolling and jumping was looked upon as boys' activities in which girls could be encouraged.

pursued away from public view,

Walking and outdoor exercise, . . . even skating, driving hoop and other boyish sports may be practised to great advantage by little girls.¹⁷

In his encyclopaedic text, The boy's own book, maidens could play cricket "without impeachment to their usual reputation."¹⁸ By "usual" he was no doubt giving recognition to the gracious mannerly young lady who showed that likewise she could appreciate and enjoy this fine game.

The question of adult participation which had been promoted by a few authors during the first period was further examined in the second period. In particular, John Paris, in his discourse entitled Philosophy in sport, debated the issue through the characters of the father, portrayed as a Philosophical Radical who saw children's interest in games and sports as a useful means of promoting learning in the Natural Sciences, and the Vicar who retained the traditional and sentimental nostalgia of the Evangelical for innocent enjoyment in such amusements. The view that the Vicar's proposed participation in a game of marbles with young Tom Seymour might create gossip evoked the following firm convictions:

¹⁷Child, p. 41.

¹⁸Clarke, p. 51.

Toys and games, my dear friend, have served to unbend the wise, to occupy the idle, to exercise the sedentary; and let me add, to un wrinkle the aged, for by reviving the pleasant recollections of youth, what a cheering glow is cast over the evening of life.¹⁹

The Vicar played a relatively minor role in the Paris story, but the point of view on adult participation which he proposed was reflected in other stories. For example, William Martin, in "The Frolic", described Master Fenn, as

The pattern of a school master; strict but paternal; . . . he would run, and skip, and jump, with his pupils . . . everything but bird-nesting or such cruel sports . . .²⁰

In her stories, Harriet Martineau captured the spirit of enjoyment of children and adults alike as they shared in their games and pastimes.²¹ She recounted how

¹⁹Paris, p. 179.

²⁰William Martin, 1801-1867. The Hatchups of me and my school-fellows (London: Darton, 1858), pp. 33-4; see also William Howitt, pp. 220, 263. At his school, the young teachers joined in their play and the headmaster, a young man, would run in the early morning game of Hare and Hounds, "till warm and glowing, panting full of health and happiness we returned to the day's duties."

²¹Harriet Martineau's buoyant sympathy for the children in her stories is particularly interesting. At least partially deaf, she described her own childhood as unhappy. Though fond of play, she spent much of her time in the company of a little girl who had lost a leg and was unable to join in the frolics of the other children. The sixth child in a family of eight, she vividly recalled being known as the "ugly duckling." See Harriet Martineau's biography, with memorials by Maria Weston Chapman (2nd ed.; London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1870), III, 39; and R.K. Webb, Harriet Martineau. A Victorian radical (London: Heinemann, 1960), pp. 6-7.

in a game of Prison Bars, the father captured his daughter Selina and pretended to throw her into the pond. Selina "screamed and struggled and all laughed. Finally he let his prisoner escape and gave chase."²² In another of her stories, Miss Martineau portrayed a young boy thoroughly enjoying balancing on his father's shoulders. In her humourous way she stated that neither the boy nor his father "minded being told that he was far too old for such play."²³ The same sense of enjoyment is illustrated by Mary Howitt as the uncle and nieces and nephews in her story gleefully throw snow-balls at each other.²⁴

Noticeably absent from these episodes was the perpetual reminder to give heed to manners and language and to forego rowdy behaviour. This transition was reflected in a preference for "given" names for the story characters. Albeit the companions of Lord Linger, Lazy Lawrence and their counterparts in Young Hardy and Dame

²²Harriett Martineau, Five years of youth; or, Sense and sentiment (London: Harvey and Darton, 1831), p. 103.

²³Harriet Martineau, The Crofton boys (London: George Routledge, 1865 . 1st publ., 1841), p. 22. Note: In this same story she tells of a tree particularly suitable for climbing and a father who taught the boys to climb. p. 58.

²⁴Mary Howitt, 1799-1888. The childhood of Mary Leeson (London: Darton, 1848), p. 100; see also Jane Marcet, 1768-1858. The seasons. Winter (London: Longman et al., 1835. 1st publ., 1832-3), pp. 58, 21.

Trusty did not vanish, their absence made the stories less obviously didactic in their message than they had been during the earlier period. The disobedient child who must be continually disciplined was replaced by happier, more joyful and exuberant bairns. Likewise the reproving aunt was gradually supplanted by the cheerful adult male participant (father, uncle, schoolmaster). In effect, the focus in the stories moved from the familiar characters of the adult onlookers and their reprimands to the responsible and praiseworthy older boy or young schoolmaster who successfully led the physical adventures of the most boisterous boys.²⁵ As the period progressed, performance for the boys claimed increasing attention. Harriet Martineau had discerned that those children who were able to play the games of the playground well, enjoyed the advantage of being free to choose their own companions and pleasures.²⁶ On the other hand, Thackeray who generally held performance at games as a manly art, described one young boy as a hopeless case, for though he could do many things such as play cricket better than most boys, he was not able to learn his lessons.²⁷ By comparison with the

²⁵Mozley, p. 97. Note: The game of Grand Mufti was found to be an extremely successful party game when led by the well-liked older boy.

²⁶Martineau, The Crofton boys, p. 60.

²⁷Thackeray, p. 15.

first period author attitudes in the second period carried a greater degree of persuasion that skilled performance was the ideal for boys. Similar arguments were not in evidence regarding the achievement of girls.

Girls were not normally pictured as lacking in the necessary running and ball skills for successful participation, but the ideal of youth and elegance for the girl did not require that the authors dwell upon her physical prowess at games. In Anna Hall's view a girl "danced, sang, laughed and was full of life as a fawn, yet never rude or boisterous."²⁸ Moreover, the unfortunate Miss Harper portrayed by Mark Lemon as one who not only ate too much but, being fat, made a poor figure in the dance and game of Blind Man's Buff was cast out with more severity than the fat boy who was advised not to play leap-frog.²⁹ Physical prowess as a quality of leadership was respected.³⁰ As Clarke told his readers games similar to Follow my Leader become "dull and monotonous" without "a bold and active leader" but "with one possessing the

²⁸Anna Maria Hall, 1800-1881. Chronicles of a school room (London: Frederick Westley & A. Davies, 1830), p. 76.

²⁹Mark Lemon, 1809-1870. The enchanted doll. A fairy tale for little people (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1849), p. 12; supra., p. 110, n. 67.

³⁰Mozley, p. 61-62; see also Mogridge, The boy's week-day, pp. 116-117; Montague, pp. 37-96, 144-152.

necessary qualifications it is quite the contrary."³¹ A regard for the leadership qualities to be gained from experiences in games and pastimes was supported by the Naturalist author Howitt who claimed that

A certain hardihood and daring acquired in boyish country life, are often harbingers of future destination.³²

Along with such recognition came reminders that it was preferable for boys to imitate such things as "good temper, forbearance, principle or piety," rather than the daring physical exploits exhibited by some leaders in such games as Hare and Hounds.³³

To some extent the male writers showed a greater degree of absorption in the nature of the winners than in the outcomes of the games and contests. The belief noted in the first period by Parkinson that play is

. . . as necessary to youth as study, and that, he who has not genius enough to play well, will seldom do anything else well.³⁴

³¹Clarke, p. 24.

³²William Howitt, p. 9. Note: In this comment Howitt touches upon the national values inherent in the games of childhood.

³³Mogridge, The boy's week-day, pp. 41-42; see also Clarke, p. 8.

³⁴James Parkinson, 1755-1824. Dangerous sports: A tale addressed to children warning them against wanton, careless or mischievous exposure to situations from which alarming injuries so often proceed (London: H.D. Symonds, 1800), p. 62.

was elaborated upon by Paris and Martin. They propounded the idea that scientific knowledge was the key to success.³⁵ In effect Paris over-stated the point that the knowledge of Newton's Laws of Motion were foremost in Tom's success at marbles.³⁶ His argument is exaggerated as Tom had won his marbles before his father's lesson introducing him to the laws of motion, and Tom himself claimed that his win was the result of his good luck.³⁷ The intent of Paris was evidently not so much to explain that knowledge will enhance one's chances of winning nor that Tom was a modest young man, but that a boy's interest in games should be utilized to promote their learning of scientific knowledge.

In this second period while girls interest in competition was no longer forgotten or ignored, any attention paid to the issue was slight and in no way

³⁵Paris, pp. 33, 427;Martin, The book of sports, p. 10; Clarke, p.8.Note: For example, Paris indicated that knowledge of the rate of acceleration would contribute to prowess as a marble player. William Martin also advised that "the boy who plays with skill judges nicely of the law of forces." While Mogridge suggested that greater enjoyment would be forthcoming. Mogridge, The boy's week-day, p. 184.

³⁶Paris, p. 33.

³⁷Paris, p. 33. Paris is of the opinion that there is little value in such victories, however he writes "do not misunderstand me: far be it from my wish to disparage your skill; whatever we undertake, we should endeavour to accomplish; I am, therefore, well pleased to find that you can play at marbles with so much success."

paralleled the growing interest aroused in the boy's matches. In Anna Hall's description of interest aroused in the archery match at Hartop Hall which the god-daughter of the favourite aunt won, is found the earliest representation of interest in girls' competition. She commented that,

Those who took part in the sport were eager and anxious, and those who looked on, manifested the strongest curiosity as to the issue of the contest.³⁸

CONDUCT IN THE GAME

Whereas during the first period moral instruction had dwelt almost exclusively upon questions of general conduct - manners, honesty and thoughtfulness, in the second period it was extended to incorporate the specific requirements of behaviour in the game situation. Admiration and praise were the rewards for those who played fairly and took defeat or victory graciously. Through the commentary of onlookers and other participants, the authors continued to advise their readers that it was the good natured child who would become the ultimate winner.

³⁸Hall, The Hartop jubilee, p. 69. Note: The two games which were associated with competition for girls were Archery and Les Graces. The latter was a fashionable French amusement and required the tossing of a large ring from one wand or stick to another. The players stood facing each other with the stick held in one hand. See E.M. Forster, Marianna Thornton. A Domestic biography. 1797-1887 (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1956), p. 87.

Temptations which beset winners were habitually cited in stories about girls. For example, the result of the archery contest above, when the skilful Cecelia did not win, was justified, as it was agreed that winning would have made her more conceited. Moreover in The parent's cabinet, when the loser has a mishap at the end of a long contest in shuttlecock, the winner loses her temper and so could take no pleasure in her victory.³⁹ The interest in competition, though sparse, is noteworthy as in the previous time period such commentary had been directed only toward boys.

Another facet of competition which was restricted to boys, was the question of playing "for keeps."⁴⁰ The only exception in either time period to outright disapproval of this practice was found in A philosophy in sport, written in 1827, where the knowledge of Tom's hoard of marbles won at school did not bring forth any further rebuke from his father than the comment that there was no value in having gained such a collection.⁴¹ Tom assured

³⁹The parent's cabinet of amusement and instruction (London: Smith and Elder, 1858-1859. 1st publ., 1833-1835), p. 210-212.

⁴⁰To play for keeps applied to such games as marbles and tops in which the winner might keep the items won in the game.

⁴¹It would be anticipated that books on religious instruction would have taken a more vocal stance on this issue.

him that his school-fellows acknowledged him as one of the best players at "ring-taw" in the school, but was quick to change the subject when his father asked,

"Have you not read of the skilful Roman, who could blow peas through a quill and deposit them with such nicety on the point of a pin, . . . ?"

"And what was his reward?" asked Tom.

"A bushel of peas, my boy,"42

Playing for keeps was traditionally discouraged. As in the previous period, the authors believed that not only was it akin to gambling, but also thought to teach selfishness and inevitably led to unfortunate displays of temper. In a discussion on marbles, George Mogridge commented disapprovingly on the boy who grasped "his bag of marbles as a miser clutches his bag of money."⁴³ The viewpoint of Mogridge that "every sport which has a tendency to make the heart covetous after gain should be avoided" received generally approval.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the presentation of prizes did not provoke criticism, and was occasionally observed in both the first and the second periods.

⁴²Paris, p. 170.

⁴³Mogridge, The boy's week-day, p. 45; see also Martin, The hatchups, p. 34.

⁴⁴Mogridge, The boy's week-day, p. 49.

After 1825 the authors further extended their interest in a code of behaviour which met particular situations arising directly from events in connection with the games themselves. Their increased sensitivity to the potential significance of experiences in childhood led to their observation that not only was there a proper way of winning to be considered, but also a proper way of losing. The unsuccessful, who could not accept defeat without quarrelling, were considered to lose twice. They lost their friends and were deprived of all the pleasures of the games. This situation, ostensibly without interest to earlier authors, was exemplified in the later period in an archery contest organized by several small boys. All were successful at hitting the target except one who then quarrelled with the other boys and sneaked away on his own, ashamed of his conduct and without friends to play with.⁴⁵

It was during this second time period that achievement in physical skill was noticeably identified not only as a source of pride but also as one which enhanced feelings of self-confidence and brought a sense of freedom and excitement to the performer. Some activities ranked

⁴⁵Early impressions or moral and instructive entertainment for children (London: J. Hatchard, 1828), pp. 40-43. Note: The prize in this instance was money that each boy had contributed. When the loser complained his money was returned but he then found himself left out of the fun and companionship with the other boys.

higher than others as worthwhile occupations for boys as they were seen to demand courage and spirit. Swimming, for instance, not only provided pleasure and healthy exercise but in addition a chance to test one's courage, overcome fear and perhaps even to save a life.⁴⁶ George Mogridge remarked that,

The moment a boy finds that he can swim, he feels himself in possession of a new power.⁴⁷

The effective challenge presented by swimming a part of the river which ran underground evoked comparable insights from Scargill.

He that at one of the excursions accomplishes the task of swimming for the first time under the dark arch has something to be proud of for a long time, till some of his juniors accomplished the same task, and then he thinks lightly of it, and undervalues it.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Clarke, pp. 129-148. Note: Clarke among others, referred to Benjamin Franklin's writings on swimming. He added advice on practising swimming in clothes in preparation of an accident; Hall, The Hartop jubilee, p. 193. Note: She claimed that no-one ever made a swimmer that had not courage; Martin, The book of sports, p. 73; William Howitt, p. 69. Note: Howitt's instruction included the following - "open your eyes before you go under the water as the weight of water above prevents you from doing so afterwards." p. 125; and, The little swimmer, in The parental instructor; or, a father's present to his children (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1820?), pp. 61-64.

⁴⁷Mogridge, The boy's week-day, p. 141. Note: Aikin had promoted similar ideas in his "Flying and swimming" published in the first period. supra., p. 101.

⁴⁸Scargill, pp. 113-116.

A similar interest extended to tree climbing, the forbidden pursuit which authors from the first period had barely mentioned.⁴⁹ During this second period, climbing escapades were not inevitably doomed to disaster. Harriet Martineau told of a tree particularly suitable for climbing and a lively father who actually taught his children how to climb.⁵⁰ Another controversial figure, William Howitt, delighted in tales of tree-climbing exploits. At one time he cheerfully claimed "had I parted from the tree, I had certainly been drowned."⁵¹ He believed that bird-nesting and swimming offered comparable challenges, claiming that "you will never persuade the real active, healthy, inquisitive spirited lad not to go a bird's nesting."⁵²

The value seen in ritual conduct of games became more evident as the books on games incorporated the Laws of

⁴⁹S.G. Tallentyre, "The road to knowledge a hundred years ago," Cornhill Magazine, IX, 54:821, 1900. Note: The sins of tree-climbing and leap-frog are such abominable crimes that one does not even speak of them.

⁵⁰Martineau, The Crofton boys, p. 58.

⁵¹William Howitt, p. 7. Note: Howitt's enthusiasm for bird-nesting and his instruction that boys be taught to take only one egg from each nest brought severe censure from George Mogridge. See Sunny seasons of boyhood (London: William Tegg, 1859).

⁵²William Howitt, p. 49.

Single Wicket and the written rules and descriptions of how to play innumerable approved games.⁵³ The recognized rules of the game had become yet another adult directive as to how to behave. In their descriptions of boys' activities, the authors now included aspects of competitive behaviour as well as scattered information on ritual and self control. The umpire, identified for the first time by Clarke (1828) was seen by him as someone who should rotate into the game.⁵⁴ In the game of Buck in which he illustrated his idea, one player makes a back, a second player leaps onto him and holds up a certain number of fingers. The player underneath has then to guess the number of fingers. If successful, the players change places. Clarke went on to suggest that instead of the umpire fulfilling a merely idle vocation he should take his

⁵³In his introduction to the Laws of the game of Double Wicket, Clarke wrote,

"Law is, law," . . . "Laws must be rigidly obeyed, and, therefore, I will read the articles of war for your edification. The first article of war is said to be. That is shall be the death to stop a cannon ball with your head." Cricketers must be cautious also how they stop cricket balls with this part of the body; [Then followed the laws]. Clarke, p. 59 ff.

⁵⁴Clarke, p. 8. Note: Buck, a boys' game in which the loser supports the opponent on his back while attempting to guess the number of fingers being held up by the boy on top; See Opie, p. 298. Note: 'It is during this period that the role of the Umpire is formally included in the Rules of the adult games.

turn and when the "back" guessed correctly, whoever was on top at the time became the umpire.⁵⁵ This was the only item which carried specific reference to the umpire's tasks.

The author of In school and out of school provided more elaborate detail on the moral code and ritual expected to be adhered to by the players. For the cricket match the teams arrayed themselves with handkerchiefs tied at the knee and waist so as to give the game a classical atmosphere and the players a "manly" appearance.⁵⁶ Bantering remarks directed at the players were permissible on the cricket ground and did not, it was claimed, give rise to animosity between the players.⁵⁷

Ostensibly the demonstration of self control symbolized in the handshake at the end of the wrestling match was thoroughly approved.⁵⁸ Yet, there were authors

⁵⁵Clarke, p. 8.

⁵⁶In school and out, p. 74. Note: "Manly" here refers to the gentlemanly behaviour of the players and did not necessarily extend to the connotation of a measure of physical prowess.

⁵⁷In school and out, p. 74.

⁵⁸Mary Martha Sherwood, and Sophia Sherwood Kelly, Boys will be boys (London: Darton, [1854]), p. 45. Note: Two young school boys are depicted wrestling in the school playground. They were pretty well matched, and had often

such as Mogridge, who felt that boys' competition was too often mingled with pride, cruelty, envy and covetousness. They were concerned that such sports as archery might excite a spirit of contention which would leak to acts of oppression, cruelty and bloodshed.⁵⁹ Their regard for self control, loss of temper and similar aspects of behaviour was generally perceived with less anxiety than in the previous period. In their presentations the authors were more conscious of reinforcing a positive ideal of earnestness and resultant skilful performance than admonishing the child's misdeeds.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF TIME

The sanction given by authors throughout the study to the belief that the pursuit of games and pastimes served to raise the spirits had been somewhat dampened by the persistent overtones of moral didacticism in the first period. It was not really until the second period that this endorsement emerged with convincing vitality. The commonly held beliefs of the authors were epitomized by George Mogridge during the second period when he called childhood, a " . . . happy age! when a marble, or a peg-

tried each other's strength before, never failing to shake hands heartily after every skirmish however hot they might have been during its continuance.

⁵⁹Mogridge, The boy's week, p. 42.

top can dispel every trouble, light up the countenance with pleasure and make the heart dance for joy," without forgetting that "All play and no work,/ Gives Joe a ragged shirt."⁶⁰

The value of time spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes was more readily justified as authors looked beyond the activity and became more intensely aware of the subject matter itself. For this reason they explored physical prowess and the outcomes of the game more fully in their commentary. Occupations which had been either tolerated, or fundamentally disapproved as a waste of time and even as sinful, now became a main element in the story. Games and pastimes accumulated a number of instructional values as the training ground for such estimable qualities of character as "manliness," social acceptance, self control, self confidence and self assurance.

Time spent was justified in terms of the experiences of participation much more acutely than in terms of any spoils of winning. For example, Mrs. Sinclair's noisy, frolicsome hero found that the games at cricket and football in the playground made him perfectly

⁶⁰Mogridge, The boy's week, pp. 34, 35, 18 and 5.

wild with joy.⁶¹ Similarly, William Pitt Scargill in his reminiscences on the game of warfare he had enjoyed on half holidays at school claimed that "we quite as much enjoyed the display of our arms as we did the agitations of our conflicts."⁶²

Perhaps the most remarkable piece of evidence of the candid acceptance of time justifiably spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes in the second period is the lively commentary on the anticipation of the boys for their Cricket match from the Evangelical story, In school and out of school.⁶³ This book mirrored the changes which were taking place in Evangelical thought about childhood. While authors generally had not yet claimed values of character development for the enthusiastically received opportunities to play games, there was an evident open-mindedness in the approval given to the well-being of the boys as they participated.

⁶¹Catherine Sinclair, 1800-1864. Holiday house: A series of tales (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1844. 1st publ., 1839), p. 62.

⁶²Scargill, p. 106.

⁶³Supra., pp. 78-79. In school and out, p. 66.
 Note: The Evangelical view presented reflects the work of James Janeway whose work was read extensively to children during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. James Janeway, 1636?-1674. A token for children: being an exact account of the conversion, holy and exemplary lives and joyful deaths of several young children (London: J. Mathews, 1799. 1st publ., 1671-1672).

The richness of enjoyment found by children given time free for their pursuit of games and pastimes was usually expressed in the more radical views of the Romanticists. For instance, William Howitt's enthusiasm for the outdoors was responsible for such lively descriptions as the swimming hole which was

. . . deep enough for fun and not deep enough for danger; some half-dozen of you, laughing, shouting, leaping, frisking, splashing, and dashing and rioting.⁶⁴

There was a notable absence of reprimands and dire consequences when the children in Mary Howitt's story, helping to get wet clothes off, turn a mishap on the ice into an amusing event.⁶⁵ Sara Coleridge's tree-climbing fairy represented another expression of this cheerful enthusiasm for activity,⁶⁶ while Francis Paget pictured the little village boy ever on the move with his broomstick now a hobby horse, now a sword.⁶⁷

⁶⁴William Howitt, p. 125.

⁶⁵Mary Howitt, The childhood, p. 34.

⁶⁶Sara Coleridge, 1802-1852. Phantasmion. A fairy tale (London: Henry S. King, 1874. 1st publ., 1837), p. 255.

⁶⁷Francis Paget, Tales of the village children (2nd ed.; London: Joseph Masters, 1847. 1st publ., 1845), p. 17; see also by the same author, The hope of the Katzekopfs; or, the sorrow of selfishness. A fairy tale (London: James Burns, 1844; rpt. Johnson, 1968), p. 138.

In effect, during the second period, there were a number of authors whose work strongly and sincerely reflected the Romanticist view. There is a startling difference between these approving outlooks and those from the earlier generation who wrote of such adventures only to establish fear in the minds of those who would be tempted to be disobedient. The change highlights the evaluation of those historians who have said that by 1830 the grossest kinds of cruelty had been driven underground, and the standards of most Englishmen were remarkably different from those of the preceding years.

The approval of time spent in the pursuit of games in view of its potential contributions to health continued to be heard from most authors.⁶⁸ These messages lacked the firm conviction of the Romanticist as they were accompanied by the interminable reminders that play came after work.⁶⁹ They appeared as passing observations and

⁶⁸Leslie; see also Martin, The hatchups; Clarke; Mary Howitt, The childhood, pp. 3, 9, 10. In school and out, p. 59. Note: The popular verse. "In books or work, or healthful play/ Let my first years be pass'd." Written by Isaac Watts in 1715 was used in the introduction to Miss Leslie's book. Isaac Watts, 1674-1748. Divine songs, attempted in easy language for children (7th ed.; Burslem: John Tregortha, 1800. 1st publ., 1715).

⁶⁹Catherine Sinclair, 1800-1864. Holiday house: A series of tales (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1844. 1st publ., 1839), p. 223; see also Julia Corner, 1798-1875. Reward and gift books (London: Dean and Son, 1855), p. 48; Sewell, Elizabeth Missing , 1815-1906. Laneton

were not, as in the earlier period, embodied in scenes of heedless disobedience and the resultant tragedies.⁷⁰ A similar reserve was exhibited by those who believed there was value in the release from the anxieties and concentration of the school room in the enjoyment of such pursuits.⁷¹ One typical example was given by the very popular but righteous Catherine Sinclair. One of her characters, the hero Frank, describing his school days for his younger brother, said

How delightful it was, going over and over my tasks till they were quite perfect, and then rushing out to the playground, where my mind got a rest, while my body was active; you know it is seldom that both mind and body work at once, and that the best way of resting one is to make the other labour. That is probably the reason Harry, why games are never half so pleasant as after hard study.⁷²

The significance of the last qualifying reminder that play comes after work cannot be overlooked in a summation of the fundamental attitudes of these second period authors.

Parsonage: A tale for children, on the practical use of a portion of the church catechism (London: Longman et al., 1846), p. 21; Scargill, p. 180.

⁷⁰Note: Exceptions were Harriet Martineau, Mary Howitt and Francis Paget, who failed to associate mishaps and tragedies.

⁷¹Louisa Mary Barwell, 1800-1835. The value of time, a tale for children (London: Frederick Westley and A.H. Davies, 1837), p. 62; see also Martineau, The Crofton boys, p. 91.

⁷²Sinclair, p. 259.

During the second period authors gave increasing attention to the educational values inherent in the devotion of time to the pursuit of games and pastimes. In the story In school and out of school reference is made to some who disbelieve that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy and advertise "NO HOLIDAYS" in their schools. The author suggests that "whether their pupils make better scholars on this account is a matter of doubt."⁷³ But, despite enthusiasm for the principle there remained "proper times and proper places" for these pleasures.⁷⁴

In response to the challenge that it was unwise to "pursue the luckless urchin from the school room into the very playground with his relentless tyranny," Paris proposed that,

Play and work - amusement and instruction -
toys and tasks - are invariably but most
unjustifiably employed as words of contrast
and opposition; an error which has arisen
from the indistinct and very indefinite

⁷³In school and out, pp. 60-63; see also infra.. Appendix pp. 277-278. Note: The author favoured holidays twice a year as during this time, house cleaning could be attended to. He raised the problem presented by indulgent parents. Despite his promotion of the pursuit of games, he firmly assures the reader that if a choice must be made "a pious son on a deathbed is preferable to a profligate one in all the enjoyment of health." p. 115.

⁷⁴Corner, Reward, p. 15. Note: See also Louisa Lovechild, pseud. Sports of youth (London: Orlando Hodgson, [ca. 1830]). Where the author stated "Our school tasks are over, the day is our own, So let's to our sports till the sun goes down."

ideas which we attach to such words. If the degree of mental exertion be said to constitute the difference between play and work, I am quite sure that the definition would be violated in the first illustration; for let me ask, when do boys exert so much thought as in carrying into effect their holiday schemes?⁷⁵

While it was considered by some great foolishness to hold to the traditional and sentimental belief that games are solely for enjoyment and recreation when they can not only "assist the young in acquiring knowledge but also aid the sage in his labour to extend it,"⁷⁶ others reacted vehemently. Among them was Catherine Sinclair whose classic Holiday house remained popular among children into the next century.⁷⁷ She voiced the opinion that "the very mind of youth seems in danger of becoming a machine" and that the child of her generation was "more fitted to enjoy a learned meeting . . . than the exhilarating exercise of the cricket ground."⁷⁸ Clarke explicitly claimed in the preface of his collection of games, The boy's own book, that "lads that led the sports in the playground stood high

⁷⁵Paris, p. 18.

⁷⁶Paris, p. 179.

⁷⁷Roger Lancelyn Green, Teller of tales. Children's books and their authors from 1800-1968 (rev. ed.; London: Kaye and Ward, 1969), p. 60; see also F.J. Darton, Children's books in England (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958. 1st publ., 1932), p. 225.

⁷⁸Sinclair, "Preface".

in their classes in the school room."⁷⁹ While such beliefs were not unduly predominant in the literature, their importance in conjunction with the growing sense of English superiority within the society as a whole should not be overlooked.⁸⁰

Despite a growing acceptance of time spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes and encouragement of children to join in these enjoyments, restrictions upon the use of the Sabbath day did not disappear. The approach of the Evangelical author during this period was to offer explanations rather than fear as the reason for taking care not to offend the Laws of God. George Mogridge, whose book appropriately entitled The boy's week-day book was published by the Religious Tract Society, inflicted his over-zealous views perpetually from the first to the last page of his story. The title itself was explained in the

⁷⁹Clarke, p. 8. Note: See also James Parkinson, 1755-1824. Dangerous sports (London: H.D. Symonds, 1800), p. 62.

⁸⁰William Scargill's description of a game entitled French and English reflected the increasing sensitivity in the English world to national pride and power. The game, an imitation of a sea battle, required the boys to hop with their arms folded across their chests (sailing);

When two ships met there was an engagement which was managed by bounding against each other till one was thrown down, or had set his other foot to the ground, and then that was called striking and the ship was captured.

Scargill, p. 109.

preface with the note that "of course the Bible was the book for Sunday."⁸¹ Unlike the author of A Nosegay . . . or sports of childhood, who after establishing that this book was to be read only by goodly and Godly children wrote about their games in a charming manner,⁸² Mogridge offered a series of monotonous reminders on religious and moral duties which were interspersed with description of healthy activities for boys. His claim that

The top may be flogged round and round, the skipping rope may be leaped with agility and the battledore and shuttlecock may yield amusement for a passing hour; but without a regular discharge of the duties of the day, and a continual dependence on Christ, there is no abiding peace.⁸³

is a typical example of the text.

A further development which occurred during the second period, was dependent upon the general approval of society of children's interest in games and pastimes and the author's realization that their experiences in these pursuits could be utilized in their endeavours to promote religious education for children. It was marked by the appearance of the religious moral tale for children which used the subject matter of games and pastimes as the basis

⁸¹Mogridge, The boy's week, p. 5.

⁸²A nosegay for the trouble of culling; or, sports of childhood (London: Wm. Darton, jun., 1813).

⁸³Mogridge, The boy's week-day, pp. 74-75.

of its story. One remarkable and worthy example was the symbolic religious interpretation of the earnestness expected from boys in their attitudes toward time spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes which appeared in the allegory "The Runners" by Samuel Wilberforce.⁸⁴ In this story the characters are runners in the race of life and all who strive earnestly can be assured the crown of glory and entry to heaven. It is "the slower runner whose face had been set steadily on the ultimate goal who wins the race."⁸⁵ This interpretation, which portrayed the downfall of those who become proud and conceited, represented the belief that children can best understand the values sought in Christian doctrine when they are illustrated in positive experiences which are most familiar to them.⁸⁶ Even though a similar interpretation of the way of a Christian appeared in the Bible,⁸⁷ it is unlikely that such a children's story would have been popularly received prior to this second period. There exists an

⁸⁴Samuel Wilberforce, 1805-1873. Agathos and other Sunday stories (London: Ward, Locke, 1901. 1st publ., 1840), pp. 88-101.

⁸⁵Wilberforce, p. 98.

⁸⁶See also Anna Hall's example of Cecilia whose loss in the archery contest is thought to have been necessary as she would have become more conceited. Hall, The Hartopp jubilee, p. 69; supra., pp. 140-141.

⁸⁷See I, Corinthians. ix, 24-27.

interesting contrast between this endeavour "to mark Sunday as different without making it dull" and the adversities which befell the miserable "sinners" of the earlier stories. Not only has the author linked the value of an earnest approach to life with physical performance but he had also emphasized the positive rewards of experiences in such pursuits. It was definitely a generally accepted belief that active participation in games and pastimes was not to be condoned on the Sabbath. As Edward White Benson explained in a lengthy dialogue walking and skating were not, when engaged in on the Sabbath, "only different ways of taking exercise."⁸⁸ His young pupil consequently found that not only was it improper on Sunday to read books simply of amusement, but also all the games he knew were condemned.⁸⁹ Apart from these peculiarly restrictive practices required on the Sabbath, as the time period progressed, authors stressed more the sinfulness in being disobedient to God's Will and to parental instruction rather than the idea that there was sinfulness in the pursuit of the games and pastimes themselves. In the judgement of the authors it was no longer sinful to enjoy

⁸⁸ Edward White Benson, Education at home: or, a father's instructions. Consisting of miscellaneous pieces for the instruction and amusement of young persons, from ten to twelve years of age (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1824), pp. 105-111; see also supra., p. 123.

⁸⁹ Benson, p. 111.

the pursuit of games and pastimes but it was sinful to do so before studies were completed. Their stories increasingly looked at the social acceptance of their behaviour more so than the religious criteria of sinfulness.

COMMENTARY

Between 1830-1855, several complete texts were published which set forth to promote knowledge about games, natural sciences and history.⁹⁰ These marked a new era in the adult encouragement of pursuits for children, particularly in reference to games and pastimes. While John Paris' book is notable, other less pedantic publications by William Martin, William Clarke, Jehoshaphat Aspin, W. Montague and the Peter Parley series, as well as the two publications on girls' games by Lydia Child and Eliza Leslie, survived in various editions until well into the latter half of the nineteenth century. The authors of these encyclopaedic-type books, writing at a time when the social climate was approving the pursuit of games and

⁹⁰Martin, The book of sports; see also Clarke; Paris; Leslie; Child; Jehoshaphat Aspin, Ancient customs, sports, and pastimes of the English; explained from authentic sources, and in a familiar manner (London: John Harris, 1832. 1st publ., 1825); W. Montague, The youth's encyclopaedia of health with games and playground amusements (London: J. Williams, 1838); Peter Parley, pseud., Peter Parley's book of gymnastics; A legacy to promote the health and long life of his youthful friends (London: S. Lingham, ca. 1840).

pastimes, advised children how to fill their leisure time. It is difficult to know whether these books were as popular with children as the story books about the theme, however, similar publications continued to appear on the market into the early part of the next century.

The authors of both periods wrote for the educated middle class child - the boy who went to school⁹¹ and enjoyed innumerable games and the girl whose pleasure was limited to festive occasions and holidays. Despite their increased awareness and heightened sensitivity toward children, the authors of the second period showed even less interest than in the previous period in the pursuits of children from the lower classes. One lone comment by William Howitt which demonstrated his empathy for the lonely life of the shepherd boy with no-one to play with, contrasted with the view of Aikin in the previous period who saw him happy with his football and stilts.⁹² On the whole the authors wrote about the games with which they

⁹¹Martin's The book of sports, pp. 37-38, commented that Hopscotch (a boy's game) was a "silly pastime designed to wear out the shoes" points at the new middle class boys who wear shoes and pursue games on the hard solid earth or sunny pavement of a playground or quiet city street. See Alice Morse Earle, Child life in colonial times (New York: Macmillan, 1953. 1st publ., 1899), p. 344.

⁹²William Howitt, p. 115; see also John Aikin, "The little philosopher" in Evenings at home; or, The juvenile budget opened, by John Aikin and Anna Barbauld (London: J. Johnson, 1792-1796), pp. 213-215.

were familiar, seldom extending their references to games of children from other social classes or from other countries. In perspective, the authors' attitudes toward the children of the second period showed distinctly more fascination with the pleasure and enjoyment to be derived from the pursuit of the games and pastimes than had been evident in the sentimental tolerance of authors before 1820's. Side by side with an increasing attention to the requirements of the game there existed a sense of nostalgia for the free-ranging pursuits of the country and at times vehement declarations that games were the affairs of children. The evidence supported the view that in their quest to warn by precept, punishment and apt illustration, not against the pursuit of games and pastimes but against the besetting sins of temper, selfishness and greed, some authors, particularly in the early period, selected those games which led to incidences of misbehaviour and unhappy conflict. Such party games as Blind Man's Buff, which required consideration of others, and playground games such as Marbles, which raised questions of honesty and fair play, offered models in which social behaviour patterns were readily exposed. In contrast, the imitative and imaginative games and pastimes which children pursued without the imposition of supervision or the need for set rules did not serve these purposes and consequently appeared with less frequency in their essentially instructional stories. Still, as Margaret Mead has

suggested, adult memory of this aspect of childhood can be quite unreliable, since it is complicated by associations which carry an aura of the vaguely shameful and best forgotten.⁹³ Thus, even though there were few occasions in either period when the authors actually stated that these games which they described were ones which they had enjoyed playing as children themselves,⁹⁴ it is likely that a number of authors in recalling games of their childhood, preferred to write about those remembered with enjoyment though these may not necessarily have been the ones they had most frequently played.⁹⁵ Overall, the games and pastimes which were identified in stories throughout both time periods, represent only a percentage of those known to

⁹³Margaret Mead, "Children's play style: potentialities and limitations of its use as a cultural indicator," Anthropological Quarterly, 48, 3:160-161, 1975.

⁹⁴ Julia Corner , Solomon Lovechild, pseud. Sketches of little boys: The well behaved little boy, the covetous, the dilatory, the exact, the attentive, the inattentive, the quarrelsome, and the good little boy (5th ed.; London: Dean and Co., ca. 1845), p. 21; for example see William Pitt Scargill, 1787-1836. Recollections of a Blue-coat boy; or, A view of Christ's hospital (1829; rpt., Johnson, 1968), p. 104 ff.

⁹⁵John H. Chase, "Street games of New York City," in Child's play by Robin E. Herron and Brian Sutton-Smith (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971); see also Brian Sutton-Smith, "Play preference and play behaviour: A validity study," in Herron, p. 74, where Sutton-Smith deals with the weakness in interpreting preference as an indicator of real play participation or competence.

have been in existence in the game culture of children of the time. (Table 4).⁹⁶ Games which attracted extensive commentary throughout both periods included, for the boys: Cricket, Trapball, Marbles, Archery, Playing at Horses, Sliding, Snow-balling and Tops; for the girls: Shuttlecock, Skipping, Puss in the Corner, Blind Man's Buff and games at Ball;⁹⁷ all of these games were at some time played by the boys. Notably girls were occasional participants in a few

⁹⁶ See the collections of Iona and Peter Opie, Children's games in street and playground (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); and Joseph Strutt, 1749-1802. Sports and pastimes of the English people (London: William Reeves, 1830. 1st publ., 1801), pp. 379-399.

⁹⁷ Among those authors who wrote somewhat extensively on particular games in the first period, were the following: The author of The book of games (Hockey, Trapball, Fives, Leaping, Swimming, Archery, Whipping, and Peg Tops, Cricket, Hoops, Leap frog, Marbles, Sliding, Football, Swinging, and Bowls for boys; Skipping, See-Saw, Shuttlecock, Game at Ball, Blind Man's Buff for girls; (and Hunt the Slipper, Rocking Horse for both); John Aikin (Swimming); Arabella Argus (Blind Man's Buff); Maria Edgeworth (Shuttlecock); Margaret Hurry (Blind Man's Buff); the author of The little deserter (playing at Soldiers); Alicia Mant (Cricket); Mary Martha Sherwood (Swinging, Fighting, Hunt the Hare, Hide and Seek); and Isaac Taylor (Shuttlecock). In addition the pertinent content of a variety of activities by the author of A Nosegay for the trouble of culling; or, sports of childhood, James Parkinson and Dorothy Kilner, deserve special mention. During the second period, notable content was provided by the following authors: Harriet Mozley (Grand Mufti); William Scargill (Swimming, English and French); the author of Bob and dog Quizz (Hare and Hounds); Anna Hall (Archery); William Howitt (Swimming); the author of In school and out of school (Cricket); George Mogridge (Swimming); and John Paris (Kites, Marbles, Shuttlecock, Ball Games). Mary Howitt and Harriet Martineau deserve special mention for their inclusion of a variety of activities.

selected "boys" games such as Archery, Playing at Horses and Snow-balling. As the obviously didactic intent of the children's stories lessened, and adult interest in and enthusiasm for their games and pastimes grew, the range of games described by the authors was extended. Nonetheless, the values and beliefs which they portrayed were generic rather than specific, thus, in comparison with their attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood, their attitudes toward particular games has relatively little import. In the following and concluding chapter to this study, discussion focuses upon the persistence of these attitudes and the conflict which sometimes existed in the beliefs and values which supported them.

Chapter VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

PERSISTENT ATTITUDES

Children's literature published between 1780 and 1855 reflected the patterns of thought about the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood which prevailed in contemporary middle class society in England. Despite the diversity of ideas which was characteristic of the time period and the conflict which existed in the reasons upon which authors based their beliefs about the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood, the attitudes which they held were more notable for their similarities than differences. Individual authors exhibited the English talent for compromise¹ and usually portrayed beliefs and values drawn from more than one of the prevailing patterns of thought, Evangelicalism, Philosophical Radicalism, Naturalism and Romanticism.

The notion of trivia familiarly attributed to the games and pastimes of a culture and particularly to those pursued by children does not adequately explain the absence of conflict in the attitudes toward them found in

¹Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian frame of mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 168.

children's literature. As these authors wrote entertaining and instructional books for the story book market, their views were not unexpectedly reflective of those held by society as a whole, the more extremist views of the Romantics having found their public in Poetry² and those of the Evangelicals in books on Religious Instruction.³ Furthermore, their public, the newly literate parent and child of the middle class was more responsive to the matter of fact and informative nature of their stories than to the "mature" literature of the Romanticist School.⁴ The mirror image of society in the story book attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes was evident in the conservative nature of the attitudes expressed in the earlier period and the more progressive and enthusiastic mood which penetrated the later publications.

²A. Charles Babenroth, English childhood. Wordsworth's treatment of childhood in the light of English poetry from Prior to Crabbe (1922; rpt., Folcroft: The Folcroft Press, 1969), et passim.

³For example, Rev. George Burder, 1752-1832. Early piety; or memoirs of children eminently religious, interspersed with familiar dialogues, emblematic pictures, prayers, graces and hymns, (1815) in The child's reward book, containing several narratives, peculiarly interesting to young persons (London: Religious Tract Society, [ca. 1820]), p. 47 ff.

⁴Peter Coveney, The image of childhood (rev. ed.; Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1967), p. 31.

Likewise their stories reflected an individuality of purpose attuned to the physical and intellectual environment which surrounded them. Indicative of the pattern were the works of Paris, Mogridge and Howitt, three male authors whose books were initially published between 1827 and 1839. The first, Paris (1827) established a strong argument for the responsibility of parents to directly "interfere" with the children's interest in games for the improvement of learning. As the title of his book, Philosophy in sport. Made science in earnest implies, he favoured the principles of Philosophical Radicalism.⁵ Mogridge who followed in 1833 with The boy's week-day favoured the belief that children could, with adult guidance learn and apply Christian virtues in the pursuit of their games and pastimes.⁶ Meanwhile Howitt, almost it would seem in reaction to the previous books, wrote The boy's country book, in which he maintained a firm belief that the pursuit of games and pastimes was of the highest priority in the free and unrestrained life necessary to the

⁵John Ayrton Paris, Philosophy in sport. Made science in earnest! Being an attempt to illustrate the first principles of natural philosophy (London: 1852. 1st publ., 1827), et passim; supra., p. 152.

⁶[George Mogridge], 1787-1854. The boy's week-day book (3rd ed.; London: Religious Tract Society, 1836. 1st publ., 1833), et passim; supra., p. 142.

healthy development of a boy.⁷ Overall, the women authors tended to be less in conflict with each other in their reasons than the men. This can probably be explained by their common allegiance to Evangelical discipline, and the closer contact they had with children. As a group, they were eclectic in their values and not quite so enthusiastic or extreme in their outlook.

As the intention of the authors was to prepare their readers for the challenge to be met in daily life, the beliefs and values which were behind the attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes they depicted were inseparable from their philosophy of life. The continuities which prevailed in the positive attitudes expressed can be verified through a review of the images which received general approval and persisted throughout the period. By the 1850's the composite of their beliefs and values was typified in an attitude which said that:-

- (i) the pursuit of games and pastimes in childhood was acceptable and was deemed respectable providing that other more important matters, such as duty to God, duty to parents and lessons

⁷William Howitt, 1792-1879. The boy's country book: being the real life of a country boy, written by himself; exhibiting all the amusements, pleasures, and pursuits of children in the country (2nd ed.; London: Longman, Orme et al., 1841. 1st publ., 1839), et passim; supra., p. 138.

were attended to first.

- (ii) conduct during this time should meet the conventional standards of manners and morals required of all children. There should be no rough play, rudeness, bad language, cheating or other unfair behaviour.
- (iii) the ideal image for boys should differ from that of girls. The boy was to be goodly and Godly and specifically he should be able to achieve social standing through his demonstrated proficiency at games; furthermore he should compete in a manly and honourable manner. The girl (though her ideal image in terms of the subject matter of games and pastimes was not as clearly defined) was to demonstrate those qualities of moral goodness, kindness and thoughtfulness expected of girls at all times. Her abilities to demonstrate physical prowess were relatively unimportant. Furthermore girls and boys might play together in such party games as Blind Man's Buff, Puss in the Corner and Grand Mufti. But, at other times they should, preferably, play with their own sex. On all occasions girls should refrain from boisterous behaviour and boys should be chivalrous toward them.

During the earlier years of the study, these attitudes were so closely wrapped in didactic overtones that it was difficult to begin to consider them as applicable to realistic children. Nevertheless, the tendency on the part of the authors to reiterate their beliefs as codes of behaviour illustrated their avowal of faith in them. Undoubtedly some semblances to the ideal boy and girl portrayed by the authors were observable among children known to them.

Apart from the notable trend in the post World War II era to promote the same expectation in games and pastimes for girls as well as for boys, there has been essentially little change in the beliefs and values surrounding adult attitudes. There exists today the same formal code of acceptable conventional manners, similar beliefs in associated moral values and comparable efforts on the part of those responsible for the education of children to both preserve and promote them. Good children of the mid twentieth century are still required to pursue their games and pastimes without fighting, being rude, using bad language, or cheating and equally important to have attended to their homework beforehand. If not, they are required to cease their play at a given time in order to fulfil such a duty. They are expected to play their earnest best to win fairly. As far as the adults are concerned, greater status is to be gained by being skilful

at national games than those enjoyed only within their own group. And last but not least, interest in imaginative games is generally considered "childish" and not quite acceptable for those over ten years of age.

FROM ACCEPTABILITY TO RESPECTABILITY

The fundamental attitude of the authors led them to include content on the pursuit of games and pastimes in their children's stories. Through this inclusion they showed their acceptance not only of the normality of this aspect of child life but, on many occasions recognition of its functional contribution. The genuine love of children which to a large extent provoked them to write for children in the first place supported an essentially positive attitude which approved at least some part of the child's time to be spent in the enjoyment of games and pastimes. As Mogridge, an Evangelical author writing for the Religious Tract Society in 1833 said,

It is very pleasant to see a boy cheerfully partaking the sports of his playmates using the skipping rope or leaping pole, playing at hide and seek, trundling the hoop, or scampering along the green fields with his companions . . . But it is well to mingle with these diversions the quiet walk, and the reflective hour, for, as boys cannot always be together, they ought to learn how to be happy when alone.⁸

His thoughts recall those of Maria Edgeworth when she described young Jem who was

⁸Mogridge, p. 32.

. . . as fond of play as any little boy could be; and when he was at it he played with all the eagerness and gaiety imaginable . . . ⁹

and were reflected in the more Romanticist mood of Howitt when he described the boy, "happy as the day was long," and his own boyhood as a time when

. . . our bodies seem only spirit and life; they are ready to leap; to fly; to see all, do all, enjoy all that the glad world has to present . . . ¹⁰

Even the Philosophical Radical whose philosophy of life might be expected to be least supportive of a positive attitude toward the devotion of time to such "idle" pursuits recognized that children might, while enjoying running after their hoops and whipping their tops, benefit their health and strength.¹¹ In addition, it was

⁹Maria Edgeworth, 1767-1849. The parent's assistant; or stories for children (London: J. Johnson, 1804. 1st publ., 1795), I, 26. Rousseau expressed a similar view.

Is it not a sweet and charming sight to see a handsome boy, his eye gay and lively, his air content and happy with an open smiling countenance, playing at the most serious occupations, or profoundly busied in the most childish amusements.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, His educational theories selected from Emile and other writings, R.L. Archer, ed. (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1964), p. 143.

¹⁰William Howitt, pp. 85, 46 and 125; supra., p. 151.

¹¹Louisa Barwell, 1800-1885. The value of time. A tale for children (London: Frederick Westley and A.H. Davis, 1837), p. 62.

recognized that anticipation of such enjoyment could be "a charm that makes the whole machine of education work all day long."¹² In effect, the principle that there could be no recreation without delight which had been advocated by Locke,¹³ formed a common bond between all the authors.

Yet, the extent to which authors approved freedom for boys and girls to divert themselves after their own fashion varied greatly. The critical measure of change in the degree to which authors were disposed to give significance to the inherent values to be found in games can best be appreciated in relation to the Puritan view which combined the Evangelical outlook that all amusement was sinful and the Philosophical Radical stance that the formative powers of education were paramount and there was no reason to allow time for children's spontaneous expression. It was the latter's inclination to stuff the memory like a cricket ball with facts which provoked Eliza Leslie and Catherine Sinclair in the 1830's into an endeavour to preserve a remembrance of a past when there had been room in the child's life for natural feeling and

¹²In school and out of school; or, The history of William and John. An interesting tale by one who knows both (London: Dean and Munday, 1827), pp. 60-61.

¹³John Locke. Some thoughts concerning education F.W. Garforth, ed. (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1964), p. 137 (108) and p. 227 (197); see also Editor's note pp. 131-132.

enthusiasm.¹⁴

By the second period the authors did not have to contend with the criticism of the formidable Evangelical Mrs. Trimmer who had decried the very idea that teaching of games could be thought a worthy objective for the teacher or author of children's books.¹⁵ There were also Evangelical authors who did not necessarily accept the belief that character and Christian virtues were forthcoming from experiences in games and pastimes,¹⁶ and likewise did not deny the values propounded in these verses.

¹⁴Eliza Leslie, 1787-1858. "Preface," The girl's book of diversions; or occupations for play hours (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1835. 1st publ., in Boston, 1831); Catherine Sinclair, 1800-1864. Holiday house: A series of tales (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1844. 1st publ., 1839), iv.

¹⁵Mrs. Trimmer's unfavourable review appeared in The Guardian of Education, 1805, IV, 301-304. "Play is converted into Learning! What will the heads of Schools, both public and private, say to an Author who has thus thrown temptation in the way of their Scholars, to employ that time in studying the games which are designed for recreation only,"

Notably in her commentary on A series of prints of ancient history (London: John Marshall, 1788), pp. 53-56, she remarked favourably upon the life of the Sythian boy who was taught to ride and trained to arms while very young. The Lydians who idled their time away at games did not meet her approval.

¹⁶George Mogridge and others warned children of the temptations which existed in the sports they were so ready to enjoy.

How joyful and gay
 We pass every day,
 While o'er mountains of learning we're leaping;
 But if you'd know why,
 (The reason's hard by)
 It's because of the holiday keeping.

and,

Good philosophers say,
 All work and no play,
 Is to sow without prospect of reaping:
 And if this is the case,
 With a very good grace
 We may all go a holiday keeping.¹⁷

The range of beliefs depicted by individual authors all served to raise the significance of such pursuits in childhood. For instance, the respected authors, Parkinson and Aikin depicted the Philosophical Radical view that engagement in games and pastimes were necessary for the health of children;¹⁸ the well known Thomas Day promoted the idea of physical prowess as a desirable attribute for the self-reliant boy,¹⁹ and the reputable Ellenor Fenn encouraged mothers to observe their children at their games

¹⁷In school and out, p. 63.

¹⁸James Parkinson, 1755-1824. Dangerous sports: A tale, addressed to children, warning them against wanton careless or mischievous exposure to situations from which alarming injuries so often proceed (London: H.D. Symonds, 1800); John Aikin, 1747-1822 and Anna Barbauld, 1743-1825. Evenings at home; or the juvenile budget opened (London: J. Johnson, 1792-1796).

¹⁹[Thomas Day], 1748-1789. The history of Sandford and Merton: A work intended for the use of children (London: F.C. and J. Rivington et al., 1818. 1st publ., 1783-1789), Two volumes.

so as to be better able to understand their dispositions and lead them in the Christian way of life.²⁰

In addition, authors frequently referred to the pleasure to be found in the pursuit of games after lessons were over. Increasingly as the period progressed they described in much detail the enthusiasm and exhilaration shared by both participants and onlookers.²¹ Advances in medical technology, increased efforts to understand the nature of children and the advent of the public school where groups of children had to fill their leisure time productively, all promoted approval and interest in these childish pursuits. In the school situation the values of physical and mental health as well as those of moral standards and social acceptance gradually pushed into the background ideas which had equated the amusements of games and pastimes with the idle sinner. One of the most comprehensive examples of this was in Harriet Martineau's portrayal of Hugh's experiences in her classic children's book The Crofton boys.²²

²⁰[Ellenor Fenn], 1743-1813. The female guardian. Designed to correct some of the foibles incident to girls and supply them with innocent amusement for their hours of leisure (London: John Marshall, 1787. 1st publ., 1784), II, 134.

²¹In school and out, pp. 65-80.

²²Harriet Martineau, 1802-1876. The Crofton boys (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1865. 1st publ., 1841);

Finally the publication of books about games for children represented a form of respect for the theme and highlighted recognition in the society of the fact that the needs of the child may be different from those of the adult. Nevertheless while the authors offered no apology for producing books of instruction on children's pursuits they usually gave substantial qualification that the amusement therein was for the enjoyment and enlightenment of those who had first attended to their duty; they claimed a twofold purpose, enjoyment and health (mental and physical). As Clarke advised, the hours of the day allotted for recreation

. . . should be employed in healthful and agreeable pastimes so as to render the boy prepared to return with mental vigour to his books.²³

In his view it was equally important to forget the school-room on the playground and the playground in the school-room.²⁴

see also discussion by Gillian Avery, "The manly boy, 1800-1914." Childhood's pattern. A study of the heroes and heroines of children's fiction 1770-1950 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), pp. 163-198.

²³[William Clarke], 1800-1838 . The boy's own book. A complete encyclopaedia of all the diversions, athletic, scientific, and recreative, of boyhood and youth (7th ed.; London: Vizetelly, Branston, 1831. 1st publ., 1828), p. 8. Note: There were five editions of this book in less than two years.

²⁴Clarke, p. 8.

It is hardly to be expected that among the authors of children's literature there would appear those who did not show some tolerance for the pleasure and delight children found in the pursuit of their games and pastimes. Nevertheless, in the opinion of most authors, time given to such pursuits must be justified, and in their stories and encyclopaedias they always reminded children of the priorities which were to be given to work.²⁵

At the beginning of the study the majority of authors supported Evangelical discipline. They tolerated innocent sports for the very young and only occasionally encouraged participation on the basis of utilitarian, educational and developmental values. While Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Sherwood and her kind continued to reinforce the restraints and limitations familiar throughout the eighteenth century, authors such as Maria Edgeworth, the unknown author of The book of games, John Aikin and Dorothy Kilner from the earlier period, were influential in removing them. They extended the outlook of those interested in children's games from the narrow but acceptable view of moral instruction to the wider more respectable realm of association with the promotion of

²⁵Noticeable among those who can be included in this group were the major and minor women authors of both periods; Arabella Argus, Maria Edgeworth, Margaret Hurry, Julia Corner, Catherine Sinclair, and Ann Tytler.

learning of scientific knowledge, the attainment of social acceptance, attributes of sound moral character. High spirits and hilarity were tolerated but rapture and ecstasy met the approval of only a few.

The traditional belief, that time spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes was wasted and was an enticement toward sin, wavered under the impact of a number of the revolutionary ideas that were gaining momentum in society. The Naturalist views, largely reflective of Locke's theories, proposed that children's true nature could best be examined during the process of play, that lessons in control of the will might be learnt in the school of winning and losing, and that social training in kindness and fair play might be learnt through experiences in games.²⁶ Influenced by these ideas influential authors John Aikin, Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Hofland, Thomas Day, Arabella Argus, Dorothy Kilner and Catherine Sinclair came to accept that, provided a sense of purpose prevailed, not only physical but also intellectual and moral strength could be gained through the experiences offered in the

²⁶See the summary of ideas of Comenius 1592-1670, Locke 1632-1704, Rousseau 1712-1788, Pestalozzi 1746-1827, Froebel 1782-1852 in Ellen W. Gerber, Innovators and Institutions in physical education (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1971), p. 65 ff.

pursuit of games and pastimes.²⁷ Even dedicated Evangelicals such as Mrs. Sherwood began to identify values in games which were no longer in conflict with their basic concern for the salvation of the child's soul or of the state of the society in which they lived.²⁸

The Christian, influenced by the Philosophical Radical ideas, had discovered that he was not called upon simply to control his aggressive instincts but might direct them toward the fulfilment of the goals of society.²⁹ For the child this meant an earnest application to all tasks including games. The retention of the Sabbath as a time during which the pursuit of games and pastimes remained a sin of major consequence can be interpreted as a compromise in which these new ideas of the inherent constructive values in games and pastimes were successfully merged with the old doctrine of the sinful nature of all amusement.

²⁷David Newsome, Godliness and good learning. Four studies on a Victorian ideal (London: John Murray, 1961), p. 203.

²⁸Note: See particularly Mary Martha Sherwood, 1775-1851. The boy's school in The Christmas carol. With other stories (Halifax: Milner and Sowerby, 1860. 1st publ., 1833), pp. 99-121; supra., pp. 98-99.

²⁹See discussion in Houghton, pp. 214-215; also William Clarke's statement, "A playground is an emblem of the world. It's gamesome boys are men in miniature." Clarke, p. 7.

By 1855, the majority of authors accepted as respectable instrumental values for boys and their attitudes were essentially approving of some limited time being spent in the pursuit of games and pastimes. This aggressive majority included authors who held to the concepts of Philosophical Radicalism, Evangelicalism and Naturalism. In contrast, the Romanticist raised a minority voice which decried the necessity of instrumental purpose in justifying such occupations of children's time and spoke out with conviction and a sense of urgency for the intrinsic values of the games for the game's sake. Had the selection of primary source material included poetry their voice would undoubtedly have been much more in evidence. From this time on, the critical force of the Romanticist viewpoint has sought to remind the reader that the essence of child nature is intertwined with the child's imaginative spirit and pre-occupation with the adventure of living. It is not to be found within the constraints of set roles and formal skills of established games.³⁰ This

³⁰[Robert Louis Stevenson], 1850-1894. "Child's play," The Cornhill Magazine, Ser. 1, 38:357, 1878. Stevenson proposed that,

. . . hide-and-seek has so pre-eminent a sovereignty, for it is the wellspring of romance, the actions and the excitement to which it gives rise lend themselves to almost any sort of fable. And thus cricket, which is a mere matter of dexterity, palpably about nothing and for no end, often fails to satisfy infantile craving. It is a game, if you like, but not a game of play. You

criticism continues to be heard as educators and social planners of today attempt to manipulate and direct children's games, and move with little trepidation into ever earlier age levels.

The popularity with which the utilitarian encyclopaedic-type books on children's games and pastimes were received in the 1830's was a measure of the improved status and respectability with which these pursuits were identified. Such informative books had become popular on all subjects and were no doubt lucrative publications. Nonetheless, the authors who compiled them may be compared with the self-appointed "custodians of the games" to be found in the playground today.³¹ Their knowledge may well have been prompted by the awakening adult interest in the subject matter of the games, in the ritual and in the dress styles evidenced in children's stories.³² They appear to

cannot tell yourself a story about cricket; and the activity it calls forth can be justified on no rational theory.

³¹Iona Opie, "The tentacles of tradition," The advancement of Science, XX:238, 1963-4. Note: Opie refers to these children as the storehouse of information about playground games.

³²See In school and out, p. 72; and Mary Martha Sherwood, 1775-1851, and Sophia Kelly (Sherwood) d. 1815. Boys will be boys; or, "The difficulties of a school boy's mission." Being a collection of stories calculated to show the importance and effects of a religious education (London: Darton, 1854), p. 45. Note: John Locke in keeping with the classical traditions had favoured wrestling.

have been essentially conservative in outlook, for though the range of games listed was far in excess of those referred to in the stories, the collections varied little from one to the other. These publications about games supported by the beliefs of both the Philosophical Radical movement and the Evangelical movement reflect the new significance recognized for this aspect of child life. They mark a new stage in adult assumption of responsibility for selecting, teaching and inculcating habits of behaviour associated with children's game culture. If a game was seen to be instructive it met with approval and was encouraged by the authors. If skill at the game impressed socially it was to be admired. Previous to the publication of encyclopaedic books in the late 1820's and 30's the idea of adult time being devoted to the business of children's games had not been enthusiastically received. But, simultaneous with these publications about games came evidence that respectable schools (for boys) included time for the pursuit of games and pastimes in their programmes and teachers promoted them with vigour.³³ The transition was not easy and the uncertainty about the significance to

³³In school and out; see also Clarke. Loveit proposed that the teacher should incite the children to enjoy their games and pastimes in order to develop their characters. However, he did not favour rewards as these could excite "envy, hatred and hypocrisy." Brian Simon, Studies in the history of education. 1780-1870 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960), p. 261.

be given to such pursuits may explain the tendency of authors such as Mogridge and Howitt to express somewhat dogmatic views.³⁴

In summary, when "respectability" for the pursuit of games and pastimes by children was instituted within the framework of Evangelical doctrine it was, in essence, instituted within the whole of the middle class society in England. Thus the influence of Evangelical discipline, which extended beyond the religious confines of the movement should not be under-estimated in any assessment of attitudes toward games and pastimes. In addition, the simultaneous justifications which led the Philosophical Radical Movement to give greater significance to the experiences through which desired learning might be achieved gave the impetus for wide-spread acceptance.³⁵ The beliefs upon which the Philosophical Radical and Evangelical movements based their approval consequently came into greater conflict with the underlying assumptions which had led the Romanticist, in the initial years, to give significance to such pursuits. Despite the belief

³⁴Mogridge, The boy's week, et passim; see also William Howitt, pp. 46, 85, 125.

³⁵As Simon states, from 1813 onwards efforts were being made to educate "the coming generation with a new set of moral values as harbingers of a new society." Simon, p. 193.

that amusement was enhanced with knowledge,³⁶ as Eliza Leslie suggested and the publication of Philosophy in sport demonstrated adults would make the pursuit of games and pastimes more difficult and fatiguing than study.³⁷ Still, as authors were not inclined to belong wholly to one particular movement, the conflict of ideas is blurred within the reality of the characters and their exploits. Not surprisingly in a transition period the attitudes expressed by the authors ranged from those where games and pastimes were recognized essentially as aids in the preparation for the serious purposes of adult life to those where these experiences were considered the essence of childhood. They assumed both instrumental and intrinsic values with the end result of the combination of these varying beliefs and values being to elevate the significance of the theme within the total concept of childhood. Most importantly their more positive attitude meant that pastimes were approved as a respectable way for children to spend their time and an acceptable topic for their stories.

CONDUCT

Though a few authors were influenced by the view

³⁶Parkinson, p. 54; see also Paris, p. 19.

³⁷Leslie, xv; see also Paris, pp. 18-19.

"that man was made for happiness in this world"³⁸ and did not accept that the children's pursuit of games and pastimes required any further justification than enjoyment and imaginative expression, most held a fundamental distrust of expression of unrestrained emotion.³⁹ Even those authors whose positive attitudes were reinforced by the Naturalist and Romanticist belief that the spontaneous impulses of children (particularly boys) should be allowed freedom of expression, were confined within the limiting boundaries of the conventional standards of respectable behaviour. For example, the model children of Maria Edgeworth's stories pursued their games and pastimes within the context that good behaviour always paid and bad did not.

The "awfulness" of the fictional child from this era could only belong to the story book. These were the disobedient, the idle, the imprudent, the wilful, the impulsive, the incautious, the compliant, the conceited, the boaster, the Sabbath breaker, the untidy, the rude and the rough whose misbehaviour inevitably brought disaster of

³⁸Babenroth, p. 272.

³⁹See Maurice J. Quinlan, Victorian prelude, a history of English manners. 1700-1830 (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1965. 1st publ., 1941), p. 81, for his views on the conservative reaction in England to the horror of the events which ensued in France after the revolution.

disproportionate magnitude upon themselves and occasionally upon those dear to them. Likewise the "good" child was often too good to be real. Admiration, praise and success normally fell to these priggish, prudent, truthful, courageous, strong, healthy, likeable, happy, and by the end of period, skilful and adventuresome boys and girls. On rare occasions, actions motivated by good intentions were forgiven even though they may have been ill chosen.⁴⁰ Understandably the authors whose writings remained popular over long periods of time were those who refrained from the extremes in depicting their characters.

The influence of the child-centred views of both the Naturalists and Romanticists alleviated some of the urgency among the authors to be mindful of the conduct of the children in their enjoyment of games and pastimes. They wrote, instead, of the excitement of the games, depicting the characters of those concerned in preference to the familiar remonstrations upon language and behaviour. Notwithstanding the efforts of such notable authors as Mrs. Sinclair who "endeavoured to paint that species of noisy frolicsome children,"⁴¹ (whose existence was believed by

⁴⁰Alicia Catherine Mant, *Ellen* (4th ed.; London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1826. 1st publ., 1812), p. 31.

⁴¹*Sinclair*, v. Note: Mrs. Sinclair was no exception to those who recognized utilitarian values. She aptly contrasts Fairy Teach-all's games which have a useful

some to be threatened by the overly enthusiastic utilitarians), inevitably the authors' attitudes pertained to good children. They were formulated with the basically good high-spirited boy and the demure girl in mind. It is significant of the time of the study that even though the quixotic ideas of the Naturalists and Romanticists were frequently lost in the didactic overtones of the underlying Evangelical discipline and Utilitarian application, they persisted, notably through the practical influence of the Edgeworth family and were responsible for the heightened sense of exhilaration in the stories for boys which were beginning to make their mark on the publication scene. It was perhaps inevitable that as authors became more matter of fact, their observations led them to express a greater enthusiasm for the natural interests of the children. Increasingly in the second period, incidents appeared where the author had depicted an environment in which individual children pursued their own games, in their own ways, settling their own affairs with a minimum of advice and admonition from the ever present wise adult.

Perhaps the most controversial point of the influence of the views of Naturalism on the attitudes which authors portrayed toward conduct in games and pastimes is

object with those of Fairy do-nothing which you can play without effort of thought. (pp. 184-185.)

the Rousseau theory which claims that it was in the experiences to be found in their games that children naturally received social training. This theory was absorbed within the common didactic approach of authors to "following and developing the child's natural interests"⁴² and gave support to the Evangelical and Philosophical Radical objectives for the moral education of the child. Practised as many of the authors were in the care and protection of children, they rejected the theories of Rousseau and endeavoured in their stories to direct rather than follow the child's interests in their games and pastimes. At this point it is interesting to surmise whether the idea of social training proposed by Rousseau had a long reaching influence in the association which the Philosophical Radicals were to make between the development of the healthy moral character and those games in which standards of acceptable conduct came to be identified as peculiarly British.⁴³ Both Thomas Day and William Howitt supported the belief that undue caution can produce

⁴²May Hall Arbuthnot, Children and books (3rd ed.; Glenview Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1964), pp. 41-42.

⁴³Clarke, p. 461, set out to improve the recreations of the boys of England. Though some years must elapse before the slogan "Play up play up and play the game!" appeared, George Mogridge suggested at the conclusion of The boy's week-day book that when troubles seem to have the better of you it is time to Cheer up! others have been there before. p. 211.

timidity of character and encouraged daring feats of physical prowess.⁴⁴

DIFFERING EXPECTATIONS

The pursuit of games and pastimes offered a unique place for the expression of the bold enterprising spirit which the influential Hannah More admired in boys.⁴⁵ Such spirit, she believed, when recognized in boys, should not be encouraged but suppressed.⁴⁶ In view of the societal attitudes toward women at the time of the study it is not surprising that the majority of authors persisted in a more restrictive view of the pursuit of games and pastimes for girls than is commonly held today. Even writers who showed more than usual approval of time given to the pursuit of games and pastimes virtually ignored girls' interests. Among these were the unknown story-tellers who wrote the secular moral tale The book of games (1804) and the Evangelical religious story In school and out of school (1827). With the exception of the more Philosophical Radical views of Lydia Child and Eliza Leslie, who published their encyclopaedic collections for girls

⁴⁴Day, p. 230; and William Howitt, pp. 68, 218.

⁴⁵Hannah More, 1745-1833. Essays on various subjects. Principally designed for young ladies (Chiswick: Whittingham, 1820), p. 52.

⁴⁶More, Essays, p. 52.

initially in the United States, authors showed little interest and even less enthusiasm for the pursuit of games and pastimes for girls than for boys. This was true for both time periods of the study despite, or perhaps because of, the paramount position held by women as authors of children's books. Even though it might be reasonable to expect that the women authors would encourage girls to enter into activities which served not only to bring pleasure but to promote health and learning and to enhance character, such pursuits were not recognized as the comparable source of womanly virtues. The essential conservatism of the authors, responsible as many had been for the care and nurture of children, further sustained a tendency to encourage boys to be more aggressive and venturesome and girls to be quiet, good tempered and submissive.

Markedly when the intent of the authors (as during the early period) was fundamentally one of education in manners, both sexes were reprimanded, the boys for their unchivalrous behaviour towards girls during the progress of their games, the girls for their torn clothes, their use of school-boy language and their engagement in "boy's" games. Proportionately far more criticism was directed at the misbehaviour of the girls than of the boys. The two publications by Mrs. Pilkington, Biography for boys, or characteristic histories (1800) and Biography for girls,

or moral and instructive examples for young ladies (1799) typify this pattern which predominated throughout the earlier period.⁴⁷

The discrepancy between the expectations for girls and for boys became even more apparent in the second period. It became evident that there was a tendency, when presenting the theme, not only for the men but also for the women to write solely for boys. Even the more radical authors such as Harriet Martineau, dwelt far more upon the exploits and experiences of the boys in her stories than she did on those of the girls.⁴⁸ Girls' interest in the pursuit of games and pastimes was overlooked as the authors concentrated more upon instruction in the moral values of cheating and boasting for boys.

One explanation of the variation in the degree to which attitudes were supported for the one sex and left in abeyance for the other rests in the realization that girls and boys differed in their reading interests. Avery has

⁴⁷In Avery's opinion girls endured considerably more nagging than boys; see Avery, p. 166.

⁴⁸The best known of Harriet Martineau's books for children is The Crofton boys (1841). Here she tells the story of Hugh's tragic mishap at school when he is seriously injured and loses a leg as the result of being pulled off a high wall. He refrains from naming the boy responsible and in so doing shows true Christian virtue and is duly admired by all.

suggested that, in general, boys were little inclined to read and therefore in order to hold their attention, their books were made more entertaining and less instructive in their content.⁴⁹ Regardless of the concept of childhood held by the authors, they do appear to have written more on the theme when writing for boys than they did when writing for girls. It is probable that rather than endure the perpetual lessons in manners and morals in their own books, girls preferred to read the boy's books. In so doing they would likely absorb those values which enhanced the importance of games and pastimes in the life of the boy and not necessarily alter the expectations which they held for themselves.

During the second period, the content on games and pastimes for boys was usually more matter of fact than that pertaining to girls' pursuits. This situation was reflective of the leadership role which the boys were to assume as men in the society. It was, as Hannah More's views imply, important that the boy show a venturesome spirit to take the risks and meet the challenges of the adult world.⁵⁰ The expectations for girls were more

⁴⁹Avery, p. 166. In their aspirations toward upper class status the society considered it more important for the boy to be able to read than for the girl.

⁵⁰More, Essays, p. 52.

clearly limited to the preservation and maintenance of the manners, proprieties and moral traditions of the culture.

During this time dress fashions for girls and boys underwent changes which correspond to some extent with the transition in attitudes toward sex roles in games and pastimes. No longer were children dressed as miniature adults and their clothes permitted greater freedom of activity. Boys' clothes became simpler, being characterized by knee-length tunics by the 1820's followed by short trousers in 1855.⁵¹ With the wearing of fewer and more practical clothes and elastic-sided boots, there were few limitations for boys in their choice of physical activities.⁵² By 1795, girls' skirts had become shortened to a few inches above the ankle and by 1820 pantaloons were worn by the well-dressed.⁵³ While these added a greater degree of freedom than before and allowed girls to participate more freely in games and pastimes, they did not permit the same unrestricted movement enjoyed by the boys.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Esther Copley, The old man's head: or youthful recollections (London: William Darton, 1824), p. 82; see also Iris Brookes, English children's costumes since 1775 (London: A. and C. Blackie, 1930), p. 30 ff.

⁵² Brookes, p. 48. ⁵³ Brookes, pp. 12, 28.

⁵⁴ It is not surprising that children were not encouraged to become hot and sweaty. See Frances Miller (1785-1854). Henry: A story intended for little boys and girls from five to seven years old (London: William Darton, 1825. 1st publ., 1815-1816), p. 19.

Though more games and pastimes were opened to them, hair fashions, bonnets, flounces and light slippers still posed serious limitations when sharing in the more strenuous boys' games. The authors' attitudes relating to sex preferences in games and pastimes can therefore be partially construed in terms of the trends in children's clothing fashions of the period.

Another contributing factor which provoked differences in attitudes toward games and pastimes for girls and boys was the education scene. Throughout the period, educational needs for girls continued to be met either in the home or in small schools. The education of boys tended to be more purposeful than that available to girls and in addition was conducted in larger schools where games and pastimes were frequently encouraged. Just as the general education of girls appear to have lacked definite direction,⁵⁵ so author attitudes toward character development associated with the pursuit of games and pastimes would appear never to have been seriously considered for girls. It is particularly unfortunate that the influential feminist Harriet Martineau followed the general pattern of the time in portraying predominantly

⁵⁵R. Glynn Grylls, Emancipation of women, in British Broadcasting Commission. Ideas and beliefs of the Victorians. An historic evaluation of the Victorian age (London: Sylvan Press, 1949), p. 255 ff.

boys' rather than girls' involvement in games and pastimes.⁵⁶ Her influence could well have encouraged a more receptive attitude toward female participation and expectations of behaviour. The translation of Mme. Sernin's Healthful sports for young ladies into English in 1822 and its publication by the innovative and respected Ackermann suggests that the buyers of children's books were at least ready to purchase such material.⁵⁷ The increased sensitivity of the time to the "rights of man" is conceivably reflected in the popularity with which the publications of Child and Leslie were received in England.⁵⁸ The majority of authors of children's literature, though silent, did not deny the outspoken views of Lydia Child when she suggested in the 1830's that boyish games and pastimes were permissible for girls provided they were pursued in the privacy of the garden.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Although all the known children's publications of Harriet Martineau were not accessible for review, the titles of her books give further support to the evidence from Five years of youth and The Crofton boys.

⁵⁷ Mademoiselle St. Sernin, Healthful sports for young ladies, trans. from the French (Facs. rpt., 1974. Toronto: Coach House Press; London: R. Ackermann, 1822. 1st publ., in France, 1820); see also Margaret Maloney, "The enterprise of Rudolph Ackermann," in St. Sernin.

⁵⁸ Note: Both publications appeared in several editions and were imitated by later authors.

⁵⁹ Lydia Child, 1802-1880. The little girl's own book (3rd ed.; London: Thomas Tegg, 1832. 1st publ., in Boston, [ca. 1831]), p. 167 ff.

With the exception of swimming, those who held to the Naturalist views of childhood were less inclined to distinguish between the expectations of the girls and boys. The physical prowess demonstrated by Maria Edgeworth's and Mary Howitt's fictional children was not a conspicuous point of sex differentiation.⁶⁰ In Sara Coleridge's romantic tale, the pursuits of the fairies are shared between Zelneth the female who "in her childish days had been wont to follow the squirrels up many a well branched tree," and the male water beetle Phantasmion who shows his skill diving and swimming.⁶¹ Information on games and pastimes was however dominated by scenes which depicted boys. Even Maria Edgeworth's stories followed this pattern and dwelt more frequently upon the games of boys than those of girls.⁶²

⁶⁰[Maria Edgeworth], 1767-1849. Harry and Lucy, Parts I and II (London: J. Johnson, 1801), I, 226, 259; II, 249; see also by the same author, Harry and Lucy concluded (London: R. Hunter & Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1825), I, 107; and Mary Howitt, 1799-1888. The childhood of Mary Leeson (London: Darton, [1848]), and The children's year (London: Longman, Brown et al., 1847).

⁶¹Sara Coleridge, 1802-1852. Phantasmion, a fairy tale (London: Henry S. King, 1874. 1st publ., 1837), pp. 123, 255.

⁶²It is notable that in her classic description of Tarlton she depicts the game of shuttlecock, a popularly accepted activity for girls, approved by Parkinson for its exercise value. See pp. 97, 98; 102, 103; 109 this study. Maria Edgeworth, Tarlton in The parent's assistant (London: J. Johnson, 1804. 1st publ., 1795), I, 75-125; and Parkinson, p. 91.

Over the time period 1780-1855 observable modifications occurred in the expectations of the authors for both the girls and the boys. For the girls these appear to have been relatively minor and the image of the elegant and decorous young lady prevailed. For the boys, they led to a transformation which widened the gap between the expectations. The new image for boys has been identified with the Muscular Christian Movement and the concept of the goodly and Godly athlete was to persist well into the twentieth century.

ELEGANT BUT HEALTHY - GIRLS

Although the children's stories of the pioneer feminist Mary Wollstonecraft were not particularly successful,⁶³ it is pertinent to note that she sought acceptance of the need for girls to enjoy the benefits of invigorating physical exercise.⁶⁴ She was immoderately antagonistic toward the useless frivolity of the decorous

⁶³F.J. Harvey Darton, Children's books in England (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958. 1st publ., 1932), pp. 186, 203; see also Cornelia Meigs, "The female academy," in A critical history of children's literature eds. Cornelia Meigs et al., (rev. ed.; London: The Macmillan Co., 1960), Part I, p. 75.

⁶⁴Mary Godwin (Wollstonecraft), 1759-1797. Original stories from real life; with conversations, calculated to regulate the affections, and form the mind to truth and goodness (London: J. Johnson, 1791. 1st publ., 1788), p. 157; see also Mary Wollstonecraft, A vindication of the rights of woman (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1975. 1st publ., 1792), et passim.

role which she believed denigrated women and girls in the new upper middle class,⁶⁵ but, her views were not indicative of the conservative and anti-feminist opinions of many of the authors both male and female of her time. While some authors such as Lydia Child and Harriet Martineau accepted that the principles of the Rights of Man included those of Woman, even the Philosophical Radical Movement was not totally of the persuasion that girls should be encouraged to engage in the same pursuits as the boys.⁶⁶

Despite the fundamental principle of the Naturalist concept of childhood which encouraged children to enjoy the freedom of games and pastimes, the limitations of what was culturally determined as "girl's" placed considerable

⁶⁵Mary Wollstonecraft influenced by both Rousseau and Salzmann dwells consistently upon this issue in the text of *A vindication of the rights of woman* (Penguin Books, 1975. 1st publ., 1795) specially pertinent is her discussion on the education of girls and boys and the observations of Rousseau; see pp. 175-183.

⁶⁶The division of content in William Martin's *The book of sports for boys and girls*, clearly supports this view. Part I on indoor sports is the only section in which girls are referred to as participants. As might be expected swimming instruction was only directed to boys. The majority of authors appear to have followed Locke's advice and encouraged dancing as approved exercise for girls. As Anna Barbauld said in "Dialogue on things to be learned," (in Aikin, p. 97), dancing "is not only an agreeable accomplishment in itself, but is useful in forming the body to ease and elegance in all its motions."

restrictions on the pursuits the authors depicted for them. Dutiful daughters watched their brothers and displayed their sweetness of temper in their own games.⁶⁷ They were not seen to have reason to be envious of the boys' pursuits⁶⁸ and it was recognized that such games as Grand Mufti when led by an older boy became more enjoyable.⁶⁹ Although colourful descriptions of girls' games were provided by the Evangelical women, Mrs. Sherwood, Elizabeth Sewell, Mrs. Pilkington and the author of The parent's cabinet of amusement and instruction,⁷⁰ they were

⁶⁷[Harriet Mozley], 1803-1852. The fairy bower or the history of a month. A tale for young people (3rd ed.; London: James Burns and Henry Mozley, 1843), pp. 97-100; and Mary Pilkington 1766-1839. Biography for girls; or Moral and instructive examples for young ladies (London: Vernor and Hood and Newbery, 1799), pp. 78-79.

⁶⁸The only references which anticipated the situation of the second half of the century in which as Avery, p. 166, states, girls "longed to be considered 'men' and 'good sports' by their brothers" were by Alicia Mant, in Tales for Ellen. Ellen and George, or the games of cricket (1825) in Forgotten tales of long ago, ed., Edward Lucas (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1906), p. 189; and Elizabeth Sandham, The happy family at Eason House (London: T. Hurst, 1799), p. 120.

⁶⁹Mozley, pp. 61, 205; "Bob and dog Quizz" in Simple tales for the young (1847) in Old fashioned tales comp., Edward Lucas (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1905), pp. 308-321.

⁷⁰Sherwood, The Fairchild family, p. 334; see also by the same author The two sisters; or Ellen and Sophia (London: Religious Tract Society, 1827), pp. 33-34; and Elizabeth Sewell, 1815-1906. Laneton Parsonage: A tale for children on the practical use of a portion of the church catechism (London: Longman et al., 1846), p. 65; Pilkington, Biography for girls, pp. 78-79; and The

insufficient to embolden girls to devote their time to such games. The term "school girl" which was in use by 1820,⁷¹ appeared infrequently in the children's literature and was not accompanied by a lively array of school games for girls.

Girls were expected to be elegant and decorous.⁷² Undoubtedly the attitude of authors early in the study was largely reflective of the views expressed by the reputable Dr. Gregory, who advised the girls that attention to their health was a duty both to themselves and to their friends but that at no time should they boast of their good health.⁷³ Apart from benefits to health no real

parent's cabinet of amusement and instruction (London: Smith, Elder, 1858-1859. 1st publ., 1833-1835), pp. 210-214. Note: In Elizabeth Sewell's game of Hide and Seek, the children "made the air ring with their shouts of joyous laughter."

⁷¹"School girl", O.E.D.

⁷²As Mrs. Trimmer had advised in 1803, a lady should never indulge in "an improper display of personal beauty and indecorous agility." Sarah Trimmer, 1741-1810. The Guardian of Education, I:104, 1803. In her children's classic Fabulous histories: History of the Robins (London: T. Longman et al., 1786), p. 42, Harriet is told that climbing the ladder to see the birds is "rather an indelicate scheme for a lady."

⁷³John Gregory, 1724-1773. A father's legacy to his daughters with Hester Chapone, Letters on the improvement of the mind (London: J. Walker, 1810), p. 147. Note: The views expressed in this volume were followed by many parents in the upbringing of their children until the latter years of the nineteenth century.

significance was granted the pursuit of games and pastimes for girls within any of the four major concepts of childhood. Until girls' attendance at school was accepted by the society, a re-evaluation of attitudes toward how they spent their time and consequently toward their pursuit of games and pastimes seemed unlikely. It is significant that the Evangelical concept in its tolerance of such pursuits as innocent enjoyment reserved especially for good children was the basis upon which most authors wrote favourably about girls and their games.

GOODLY AND GODLY - BOYS

Since with few exceptions, author attitudes at all times were more favourably inclined toward the pursuit of games and pastimes for boys than for girls, it is not surprising that the image for boys is more clearly defined than that for girls. Authors apparently needed little encouragement to promote a positive attitude toward the pursuit of games and pastimes for boys. Providing that they met the general standards of behaviour, boys were freely permitted to pursue the physical challenges of running, leaping, batting balls, swimming and even climbing with enthusiasm. It was expected that they would engage in their activities with the same display of courage and self-control as might be required when dealing with the

temptations of sin.⁷⁴ As Aikin portrayed in 1792, ultimate happiness on earth and in heaven belonged to those who applied themselves earnestly to both their work and their play.⁷⁵

The goodly boy not only applied rational understanding to the problems which challenged him (for example it was better not to learn to swim with the aid of floats as that was comparable to "cribbing" which was not approved),⁷⁶ but, he was also expected to display the more estimable qualities of "good temper, forbearance, principle and piety."⁷⁷ Fearlessness and daring was sparingly admired by authors such as Thomas Day, William Howitt and George Mogridge, all of whom demonstrated to some degree the views of Rousseau. Chivalry, nonetheless, was particularly important, and the boy of superior physical strength might better fulfil his duties to protect those

⁷⁴Houghton noted the joy and relief which came to the Christian when he realized that he was not called upon to control his aggressiveness but only to direct it; see Houghton, pp. 214-215.

⁷⁵Aikin, ii, 30; see also supra., p. 119.

⁷⁶Aikin, iii, 232. Note: Not surprisingly in an era when earnestness and self reliance were the bywords to success, cribbing was not approved; see also Asa Briggs, Victorian people (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 158; supra., p. 101.

⁷⁷Mogridge, The boy's week-day, p. 42.

weaker than himself. Despite the condescending attitude which was evident when the fictional boy spoke of girls' abilities at games, the demonstration of chivalrous behaviour was more important to the authors.⁷⁸

The evidence from this study of children's literature supports the belief that there were consistent representations of the "Muscular Christian" as the ideal image for boys long before it was applied to the ideal of the religious character exhibited in the writings of Charles Kingsley 1857-58.⁷⁹ The principal characteristics of the ideal boy exemplified in Dorothy Kilner's writings differ only insofar as he was prudent rather than daring in his pursuits of games and pastimes.⁸⁰ He displayed honour, honesty, and sincerity at all times; he was a humble winner and a well-mannered loser. One of the

⁷⁸The book of games; or a history of the juvenile sports. Practised at the Kingston Academy (London: Tabart, 1805), p. 92. Note: The author anticipated this attitude toward girls when he claimed that Cricket and Trap-ball were not designed for the female mind.

⁷⁹David Newsome, p. 199. Note: Newsome suggests that after the appearance of Thomas Hughes Tom Brown's school days in 1857, "Manliness became a cult."

⁸⁰[Dorothy Kilner], 1755-1836. The good child's delight; or, The road to knowledge, in short entertaining lessons of one and two syllables (London: John Marshall, ca. 1785), pp. 71-74; and The village school, or, a collection of entertaining histories for the instruction and amusement of all good children (London: J. Marshall, ca. 1795), I, 29.

earliest of children's books to fully identify the qualities of manliness later to become synonymous with the "Muscular Christian Movement" was The book of games, published in 1805.⁸¹ Here the reader meets for the first time, the helpful older school boy who is skilful at games, knows the folly of boasting and pursues both his games and his studies with enthusiasm and application. The principal characteristic of Muscular Christianity integrated an almost sacred regard for the ordinary social requirements of the game and its ritual with an earnestness and vigour in participation and an exaggerated expression of hearty enjoyment and excessive admiration for feats of physical prowess.⁸² Elements of this new image were portrayed by a number of writers, especially by Catherine Mant, the anonymous author of In school and out of school and Harriet Martineau in The Crofton boys. Encouragement of the image was also evident in books published during the later period by the Religious Tract Society.⁸³ Although

⁸¹The book of games, p. 92. Note: Avery, pp. 166-170 refers particularly to Harriet Martineau's work in 1841 and makes no reference to this much earlier and successful publication.

⁸²"Muscular Christianity," O.E.D.

⁸³Meigs, p. 124. Note: After 1825 the society invited authors enthusiastic in the cause of religious instruction to write for them. The work of George Mogridge and Mrs. Sherwood probably belong to this category.

none of the authors as individuals fit neatly within the movement as defined by Charles Kingsley and exemplified by Thomas Hughes, the following selections typify beliefs common to a number of authors throughout the study.⁸⁴

William Howitt, a principal writer of the period, described his character of Ned Tunstall aged twelve years as one whose

. . . body and soul seemed full of rude strength and healthy energies. At the table and in the playground he acted his part manfully. He was daring, obstreperous, overbearing; leaped, wrestled, swam, flew over hedge and ditch with the ranty pole, with a vigor and gusto that filled us all with wonder.⁸⁵

In The little deserter, the author advised that "every boy of spirit ought to resist idleness and even in his games exert every energy of his mind."⁸⁶ While George Mogridge, in a publication for the Religious Tract Society, wrote:

. . . it is a pleasant sight to see the young play with those of their own age at tick, puss in the corner, ring-taw and hot beans ready buttered: and in these boyish amusements much self denial and good-nature may be practised.⁸⁷

⁸⁴In this respect attention should be given to Samuel Wilberforce, 1805-1873. Agathos and other Sunday stories (2nd ed.; London: Ward, Lock, 1901 . 1st publ., 1840), pp. 8, 88-103; see also supra., pp. 99-100, 109.

⁸⁵William Howitt, p. 240.

⁸⁶The little deserter: or, holiday sports; an amusing tale: dedicated to all good boys (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, ca. 1825), p. 23.

⁸⁷Mogridge, The boy's week-day, p. 37.

These and other authors, usually male, showed both their enthusiasm for manliness and physical courage which was motivated by their dedication to ideas or moral duty to play honestly, fairly and well. There is little doubt that the content of children's books, particularly those published after 1825, served to promote the ideals of Muscular Christianity which were inculcated into the generation that produced Thomas Hughes.⁸⁸ In effect, these authors provided the existing circumstances which made the impact of the publication of Tom Brown's school days in 1857 an historical event in the evolution of societal attitudes toward the pursuit of games and pastimes for children.⁸⁹ The attitudes of the earlier authors toward the pursuit of games and pastimes had been transformed from one of toleration to one of aggressive promotion. Anxieties expressed by both the Evangelical and the Philosophical Radical for children to show "manly"

⁸⁸In his biography we are told that after reading Maria Edgeworth's tale of Frank and Rosamond, Tom then aged six and his brother George then aged seven each wrote a letter to Maria in Edward C. Mack, Thomas Hughes, The life of the author of Tom Brown's school days (London: Ernest Benn, 1952), pp. 10-11. Note: Attention also needs to be given to the children's periodicals in circulation at this time.

⁸⁹See John McLeish, Evangelical religion and popular education (London: Methuen, 1969), p. 75. An analysis of Tom Brown's school days reveals evidence of the prevailing societal attitudes in Thomas Hughes consideration of the various school boys at Rugby.

in preference to "childish" qualities in behaviours as early as possible, may explain the emphasis given by those authors of the second period who encouraged the Muscular Christian principles, to the pursuit of games and pastimes among older children. In comparison, the ideals for children fostered by both the Naturalists and the Romantics, of the need for spontaneous and free experiences in a natural physical environment and in imaginative games, tended to receive a more positive accolade in stories for and about the younger child.

The pursuit of games and pastimes for boys only infrequently aroused expressions of patriotism. Such statements as "a playground is an emblem of the world,"⁹⁰ and the noble game of Cricket is a truly English pastime which every boy should learn,⁹¹ could imply that the superiority of English games was an established fact and therefore hardly in need of reinforcement through attractive examples.⁹² Nonetheless, it is also likely

⁹⁰Clarke, p. 7. Note: See also p. 461. The intention of his book was to improve the recreation of the "boys of England."

⁹¹Martin, The book of sports, p. 55; Clarke, p. 51. Note: See also Isaac Taylor's discussion of the superior way in which the English play Shuttlecock in Scenes in Asia (London: Harris, 1819), p. 43.

⁹²See the discussion on how literature affects conduct by D.W. Harding, in "The character of literature from Blake to Byron," in The Pelican guide to English

that it can be accounted for by the lingering lack of enthusiasm of the predominantly women authors for "good little boys to go away from home and fight for their country." So far as the time period 1780-1855 went, the boy who joined the army was usually a fool, a wastrel or a ne'er-do-well.⁹³ Notably, it is the authors of the boys' stories in the latter half of the nineteenth century who showed no reticence in their encouragement of an attitude of national pride in association with games and pastimes. But, even though the Great Exhibition of 1851 displayed England's superiority as an industrial nation,⁹⁴ it was not until her involvement in the Crimean War (1854-56), that her physical supremacy was to be really tested.⁹⁵ The sparsity of references to "War games" further suggests either a disapproving silence on the part of the authors, or a genuine absence of enthusiasm for such games among the school boys.⁹⁶ The latter would seem unlikely.

literature (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957), p. 35.

⁹³Avery, pp. 167, 169.

⁹⁴Houghton, p. 44.

⁹⁵Avery, p. 169. Note: In view of the oft-repeated claim that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, the situation poses an interesting question.

⁹⁶William Howitt, p. 219; see also Scargill, p. 109.

A combination of the beliefs and values of Evangelicalism, Philosophical Radicalism and Naturalism increasingly directed the attitude of authors toward the pursuit of games and pastimes as having instrumental values for boys. The goals of the first two movements gave significance to the theme in the development of (moral) character. The latter was more supportive of the development of experiences which showed the boys self reliance and courage, qualities not to be disregarded in the good Christian.

In comparison with observations about the value of games, pastimes and exercise as release from tension, reward for earnest application and opportunity to promote learning, observations which accepted the Rousseau theory that the physical development of the young child should take priority over all else during the first twelve years were remarkable by their absence.⁹⁷ Though the attitudes were tolerant of the idea that children needed physical activity at least for some period of each day, few authors offered

⁹⁷ Jean Jacques Rousseau, his educational theories selected from Emile and other writings, R.L. Archer, ed., (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1964), pp. 28, 143. Rousseau stated that,

Reason begins to develop only after some years, when the body has reached a certain stage of development. Nature's intention is to strengthen the body before exercising the mind. Children are always in motion Once make him a man in vigour, and he will soon become a man in understanding.

these explanations of health and physical development when promoting time spent in games and pastimes. In this respect they differed from the attitudes shown in publications by educators from the continent who supported a pattern which emphasized the values of gymnastic exercise programs.⁹⁸

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

At a time when the creed of earnestness had pushed its way beyond the confines of religion into the community at large including the life of children, it was inevitable that it would penetrate the beliefs surrounding the pursuit of games and pastimes. The appearance of an increasingly positive thrust in the attitudes which authors held toward the pursuit of games and pastimes was simultaneous with the changes in sensibility and thought about the child which came at the end of the eighteenth century. It may well be that in utilizing the attractive setting of games and pastimes to inculcate morals and manners the authors

⁹⁸ A translation of Salzmann's Gymnastics for youth: or a practical guide to healthful and amusing exercises for the use of schools (1793), appeared in England in 1800. Several of the encyclopaedic books included a section on gymnastics, those for boys, as might be expected, gave more extensive coverage; see also Clarke, pp. 57-75; Martin, The book of sports, pp. 42-50; W. Montague, The youth's encyclopaedia of health with games and playground amusements (London: J. Williams, 1838), pp. 37-50; Peter Parley, pseud., Peter Parley's book of gymnastics: A legacy to promote the health and long life of his youthful friends (London: S. Lingham, [ca. 1840]); and Leslie, pp. 45-50, (prussian exercises with wands).

unintentionally prescribed and reinforced the place of games and pastimes in the acceptable culture of generations of English children. Inadvertently, they highlighted the significance of the pursuit of games and pastimes as approved characteristics of childhood. They supported both in objective and subjective terms, an association that turned games, especially for the boys, into an instrument of character building instead of a mere exercise or source of amusement.⁹⁹

Anticipating that the ideas gained about the pursuit of games and pastimes would become a part of the children's own definition of how they would be expected to behave and expect to behave, the authors became increasingly more attentive to the theme as the time period progressed. They were at all times conscious of the reservations which restricted and limited any significance given to such pursuits. Even books written on the theme were carefully qualified as having been designed for "good" children.

This study has highlighted the value of children's books as an historical resource for the understanding of the pursuit of games and pastimes as a significant cultural

⁹⁹Briggs, p. 160.

and social phenomenon in childhood. The attitudes which were identified were seen to persist with some modifications over the two generations 1780-1855. Their durability was clearly tempered by the manner in which they were interwoven with the major concepts of childhood, and the continuity of their transmission to children in stories written for their amusement. There is no reason to suppose that attitudes identified in this study of the early nineteenth century have not continued to be passed down through similar processes to succeeding generations.

EPILOGUE

The conception of this study was motivated by a desire to better understand children in their relationship to the pursuit of games and pastimes. Children's books offered a source of information directly related to children which unlike other art forms seemed less liable to misinterpretation. Furthermore, the dimension provided by the authors of children's literature was one which could shed light upon the question of how adult ideas have been interpreted and communicated to the next generation.

In fact, in the process of preparing the study it became evident that the preparation of the teacher and administrator in physical education neglects to its cost, the history of childhood and the significance given by society to the playing of games and pastimes in childhood. The time is long overdue when it can be accepted as adequate to seek to understand only how children's games and pastimes contribute to the motor efficiency and physical development of the child. The past, as identified in the persistent attitudes found in this study 1780-1855 can be seen as a governing force in the current behaviours of those responsible for the physical education of children today. In the literature and curriculum commonly recognized as specific to the discipline of Human Movement Studies or Physical Education, the significance

of the adult attitude toward the pursuit of games and pastimes of childhood in the history of mankind, is inadequately explored. It is hoped that this study has broadened the scope of the history of games and pastimes in childhood for the future and has stimulated interest in children's literature as a resource for the understanding of the social and cultural world of children and hence of the society which they build.

Recommendations

While there are many alternatives to the particular design of an historical study, there is no substitute for a familiarity with the primary source materials and an understanding of the people responsible for their existence. The Canadian student is indeed fortunate in having access to the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, 1476-1910, located in Toronto. The resources of this collection are worthy of the consideration of any historian of children's physical education.

Particular aspects of this study which are recommended for further research include:

The extension of the study to children's literature of the latter half of the nineteenth century with a view to comparative studies in the colonial countries.

Further investigation of the early stages of the "Muscular Christianity Movement" as it was fostered through the content of books on Religious Instruction and Children's Periodicals.

A foundation study which develops a history of children's games and pastimes in relationship to changing concepts of childhood emphasized in society.

An historical focus upon the degree to which children's literature has supported or challenged differing expectations for girls and boys in their pursuit of games and pastimes.

A review of the generalized belief that Singing Games (noticeably absent in the children's literature reviewed for this study)¹ were an important part of the game culture of nineteenth century children.

¹Isolated references included a mention by Dorothy Kilner in The village school, (1795), I, 35, that the game of Oranges and Lemons was not popular with the boys; and a description of girls and boys enjoying Rum Riot which Mrs. Mozley included in The fairy bower, (1841), p. 38. Lydia Child and Eliza Leslie listed Oranges and Lemons and Wash my Lady's Dresses (Wash the Dishes) in their encyclopaedic collections.

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Table 1

Alphabetical listing, showing principal and minor authors and short titles of selected texts in the samples published before 1825.

Key: ** Principal or major authors of the period.
 * Minor authors.
 + Encyclopaedic-type texts.

- Aikin, John and Anna Barbauld. Evenings at Home. 1792-96.
- *Argus, Arabella, pseud. Ostentation and liberality. 1821.
- The book of games. Anon. 1805.
- Christmas Gambols. Anon. 1825.
- *Day, Isaac. Scenes for the young. 1807.
- Day, Thomas. The history of Sandford and Merton. 1783-89.
- **Edgeworth, Maria. The parent's assistant. Vol.1. 1795.
- Fenn, Ellenor. School dialogues. 1783.
- **Hofland, Barbara. The daughter of a genius. 1823.
- The son of a genius. 1812.
- **Hughes, Mary. Pleasing and instructive stories. 1821.
- *Hurry, Margaret. Tales of instruction. 1795.
- The infant's library. Anon. 1800.
- Johnson, Richard. The toyshop. 1787.
- Juvenile sports. 1810.
- Kilner, Dorothy. First going to school. 1804.
- The little deserter. 1825.
- *Mant, Alicia. Tales for Ellen . . . The game of cricket. 1825.
- More, Hannah. "The two shoemakers," in The works of Hannah More. Vol. III. 1803
- A nosegay, . . . Sports of childhood. Attrib. to Mary Elliott. 1813.
- *Parkinson, James. Dangerous sports. 1800.
- *Sandham, Elizabeth. The school fellows. 1818.
- **Sherwood, Mary. The history of the Fairchild family. 1818-47.
- **Taylor, Isaac. The child's birthday. 1815.
- Trimmer, Sarah. The history of the Robins. 1786.
- Youthful recreations. Anon. 1799.

Table 2

Alphabetical listing, showing principal and minor authors and short titles of selected texts in the samples published before 1855

Key: ** Principal or major authors of the period.
 * Minor authors.
 +Encyclopaedic-type texts.

- Bob and dog Quizz. Anon. 1847.
 Child, Lydia. The little girl's own book.⁺ 1832.
 Clarke, William. The boy's own book.⁺ 1828.
 **Corner, Julia. Reward and gift books. 1855.
 **Hall, Anna. The Hartopp jubilee. 1840.
 **Howitt, Mary. The childhood of Mary Leeson. 1848.
 **Howitt, William. The boy's country-book. 1839.
 Idle hours employed. Anon. 1826.
 In school and out of school. Anon. 1827.
 **Jerram, Jane. My three aunts. 1838.
 **Lemon, Mark. The enchanted doll. 1849.
 Leslie, Eliza. The girl's book of diversions.⁺ 1832.
 Lovechild, Louisa, Pseud. Sports of youth. 1830.
 **Martin, William. The book of sports for boys and girls.⁺
 1837.
 **Martineau, Harriet. The Crofton boys. 1841.
 **Mogridge, George. The boy's week-day book. 1833.
 **Mozley, Harriet. The fairy bower. 1841.
 **Paget, Francis. Tales of the village children. 1845.
 Paris, John. Philosophy in sport. 1827.
 Scargill, William. Recollections of a bluecoat boy. 1829.
 *Sewell, Elizabeth. Laneton Parsonage. 1846.
 **Sinclair, Catherine. Holiday House. 1839.
 **Thackeray, William. Doctor Birch and his young friends.
 1849.
 *Tytler, Ann. Leila; or, the island. 1833.
 *Wilberforce, Samuel. Agathos and other Sunday stories.
 1840.

Table 3

A profile of the sample listings indicating the divisions of the twenty-five authors and texts from each time period according to the content and the Cambridge classification of the authors and sex identity

Key: M = Male
F = Female
A = Anonymous

CONTENT	GROUP I 1780-1825			GROUP II 1825-1855		
Story	15			15		
Games	10			10		
TOTAL	25			25		

AUTHOR CATEGORY ^a	M	F	A	M	F	A
Major	1	5	0	6	7	0
Minor	2	4	0	1	2	0
Other	3	4	6	3	2 ^b	4
AUTHOR SEX	6	13	6	10	11	4

^aThe categories "Major" and "Minor" refer to the list of Principal and Minor authors published in The Cambridge bibliography of English literature, III, 1085-1110. "Others" includes authors and texts not on the lists. It should be noted that the following did not appear on the Cambridge list. Thomas Day, Dorothy Kilner, Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer.

^bThis figure represents the publications of Lydia Child and Eliza Leslie.

Table 4

Summary listings of games and pastimes by title
and sex preference recorded
from the sample texts

Key: B = Boys						
G = Girls						
+ = Both boys and girls together in the same group						
TITLE	PERIOD I 1780-1825			PERIOD II 1825-1855		
	B	G	+	B	G	+
Athletics	*			*		
Archery	*		*	*	*	*
Ball games	*	*	*	*	*	
Basting the bear	*			*		
Battledore	*	*	*	*	*	*
Billiards	*			*		
Blind man's buff	*	*	*	*	*	*
Boomerang				*		
Book binder					*	
Bread and cheese					*	
Buck! Buck!				*		
Cat and mouse				*		
Catch ball				*		
Climbing	*	*	*	*		
Copenhagen					*	
Cricket	*		*	*		*
Drawing the Oven				*		
Drop the handkerchief				*		
Duck & drake				*		
Fencing	*			*		
Fighting	*	*		*		
Fives	*			*	*	
Flying feathers					*	
Follow my leader	*			*		
Football	*			*		
French roll					*	
French & English				*	*	
Frog in the middle					*	
Grand Mufti				*	*	*
Gym. feats	*			*		
Hop hat	*					
Nine holes				*		

Table 4 (continued)

TITLE	PERIOD I 1780-1825			PERIOD II 1825-1855		
	B	G	+	B	G	+
Headlings				*		
Heap the bushel				*		
Hen coop					*	
Hide and seek or "I spie hi!"	*			*	*	*
Hockey	*			*		
Honey pots			*		*	
Hoops	*			*	*	*
Hopscotch (Pottle)	*			*		
Playing at horses	*	*	*	*	*	
Hot buttered beans				*	*	
Hot cockles	*					*
How many miles to Babylon					*	
How many fingers					*	
Hunt the slipper	*		*	*	*	*
Hunt the hare		*		*		*
Staggy Warner	*			*		
Track and rabbit					*	
Jousting				*		
Judge and jury					*	
King of the castle				*	*	
Kites	*			*		
The king and his train				*	*	
Lady Queen Anne					*	
Les Graces					*	
Leap frog	*			*		
Leap frog leap				*		
Marbles	*			*		
Ninepins	*			*		
Pall Mall				*		
Peg in the ring	*			*		
Mr. Pope and his lady					*	
Prisoner's base	*			*		
Puss in the corner			*	*	*	*
Quoits				*		
Robin's alive					*	
Rounders				*		
Running	*	*	*	*		
Run and jump for joy	*	*	*	*	*	
See-saw	*	*	*	*		
Shepherd & wolf					*	
Singing games					*	

Table 4 (continued)

TITLE	PERIOD I 1780-1825			PERIOD II 1825-1855		
	B	G	+	B	G	+
Skating	*			*	*	
Skipping	*	*	*	*	*	*
Slap the hand						*
Slings	*			*		
Snowballs	*			*	*	
Soldiers	*			*		
Stilts	*			*		
Stool ball				*		
Swimming	*			*		
Swings	*	*	*	*	*	*
Tag & touch			*	*		*
Tennis				*		
Thread the needle	*		*	*	*	
Tierce					*	
Tip cat				*		
Tops	*			*		
Trap ball	*			*		
Trussing (Saddle my nag)				*		
Weighing cheese and butter	*					
Why and because				*		
Wrestling	*			*		
Yo yo	*			*		
TOTAL	47	12	17	72	40	15

Table 5

Summary of frequency of games and pastimes recorded

Key:	No asterisk	..	5-7	instances	recorded
	*	..	8-9	"	"
	**	..	9-10	"	"

1780-1825	1825-1855
-----------	-----------

*Archery	*Athletics
**Ball games	**Archery
*Battledore	Ball games
*Blind man's buff	*Battledore
*Climbing	**Blind man's buff
**Cricket	*Climbing
*Dancing	**Cricket
Fighting	*Dancing
*Hoops	Fighting
*Horses	*Football
Kites	Hide & seek
Leap frog	Hoops
**Marbles	*Horses
Running	*Hunt the slipper
Jumping	*Kites
Skipping	*Leap frog
Swimming	*Marbles
*Tops	Prisoner's base
*Trap ball	Puss in the Corner
	Running
	Jumping
	See-saw (Teeter-totter)
	Skating
	*Skipping
	Snowballs
	*Swimming
	Swinging
	*Tops
	Trap ball

TOTALS ^a	
5-7 instances	7
8-9 "	9
9-10 "	3

^aA number of the games which appeared in the encyclopaedic texts were not named in the stories and the overall frequency was below the 5 required for inclusion on this list.

Table 6

A profile of the concepts of children which authors
from the sample booklist supported

Key: E = Evangelicalism
PR = Philosophical Radicalism
N = Naturalism
R = Romanticism
Anon = Anonymous

AUTHORS	CONCEPTS OF CHILDHOOD									
	1780-1825					1825-1855				
	TOTAL	E	PR	N	R	TOTAL	E	PR	N	R
Women	13.5 ^a	11	.5	1	0	11	7	3	1	0
Men	5.5	1	2.5	2	0	10	3	5	1	1
Anon	6	0	5	0	2	4	2	2	0	0
TOTAL	25	12	8	3	2	25	12	10	2	1

^aEvenings at home was co-authored by Anna Barbauld and John Aikin hence the authors appear in this table as .5.

Table 7

A chronological list of authors and texts on the sample including classification of the concepts of childhood and of games and pastimes which they supported, 1780-1825

Key: *Indicates that the author included substantial content on the theme in comparison with other authors listed.

1780-1825	CONCEPT OF CHILDREN	CONCEPT OF GAMES & PASTIMES
Thomas Day 1748-1789	N	N/PR
Ellenor Fenn 1743-1813	E	R/E
Sarah Trimmer 1741-1810	E	PR/R
Richard Johnson 1734-1793	PR	PR
John Aikin 1747-1822 &		
Anna Barbauld 1743-1825	PR/E	E/PR
Maria Edgeworth 1767-1849	N	N
Margaret Hurry (1795)	E	E/R
Elizabeth Sandham (1818)	E/PR	PR
*Youthful recreations 1799	PR	PR
*James Parkinson 1755-1824	PR	PR
*The infant's library 1800	PR	R/PR
Hannah More 1745-1833	E	E
*Dorothy Kilner 1755-1836	E/N	E/R
*The book of games 1805	PR	PR
Isaac Day (1807)	N	R
*Juvenile sports 1810	PR	R
Arabella Argus pseud. 1810-1812	PR/E	PR
*Mary Elliott 1794-1866 (<u>A nosegay</u>)	E	R/E
Isaac Taylor 1759-1829	E	R/PR
Barbara Hofland 1770-1844	E/R	E/PR
Mary Martha Sherwood 1775-1851	E	R/E
*Christmas gambols 1820	R	R
Mary Hughes (1821)	E	R/N
*The little deserter 1825	R	R/N
*Alicia Mant (1825)	E	R

Table 8

A chronological list of authors and texts on the sample including classification of the concepts of childhood and of games and pastimes which they supported, 1825-1855

Key: *Indicates that the author included substantial content on the theme in comparison with other authors listed.

1825-1855	CONCEPT OF CHILDREN	CONCEPT OF GAMES & PASTIMES
Idle hours employed 1826	E	R/PR
*In school and out of school 1827	E	R/PR
*John Paris (1827)	PR	PR/R
*William Clarke 1800-1839	PR	PR/R
William Scargill 1787-1836	PR/E	R/N
*Louisa Lovechild, pseud. (1830)	PR/E	R/E
*Lydia Child 1802-1880	PR	PR
*Eliza Leslie 1787-1858	PR	R/PR
*George Mogridge 1788-1854	E	N/E/PR/R
Ann Tytler (1833)	E	R
*William Martin 1801-1867	PR	PR
Jane Jerram (1838)	E	R/PR
Catherine Sinclair 1800-1864	E	R/PR
*William Howitt 1792-1879	N	R/N/PR
Anna Hall 1800-1881	E	R/E
*Samuel Wilberforce 1805-1873	E	E/PR
Harriet Martineau 1802-1876	PR/E	R/PR/N
Harriet Mozley 1803-1852	E	R/E
Francis Paget 1806-1882	E	R
Elizabeth Sewell 1815-1906	E	R
*Bob and dog Quizz 1847	R	R/N
Mary Howitt 1799-1888	N/PR	R/N
Mark Lemon 1809-1870	R	R
William Thackeray 1811-1863	PR	PR
Julia Corner 1798-1874	E/PR	PR/R

APPENDIX

Annotated Bibliography of Selected Texts

The book of games: or a history of the juvenile sports, practised at the Kingston Academy. London: Tabart, 1805. Author unknown. Illust., p. 156.

This is the story of Thomas White's first experiences at school. The author depicted at least twenty-four games (including hockey and football) for boys and occasionally directed commentary to games appropriate for girls. Time spent on games and pastimes was approved as a release from studies and the author highlights the enjoyment that followed Thomas's ready acceptability because of his prowess at the games taught by the older students. Following its initial publication, in 1805, the book was reviewed by the influential Mrs. Trimmer in the well known Guardian of Education. She wrote scathingly of the idea that adults should take the time to write a book about games as these were trivial matters which children adequately learnt from each other. Her particular criticism of the lack of moral instruction in the text might well explain the inclusion of two passages on the sins of gambling and playing for keeps which appeared in later editions. The book of games: or a history of the juvenile sports, practised at a considerable academy near London (London: Richard Phillips, 1812), p. 168. See particularly the references to the evil of "playing for keeps" which has the appearance of barbarity and the spirit of gambling. The boys are advised to return their winnings and not "show them about with as much triumph as an Indian savage displays the number of scalps he has torn from his enemies." pp. 136 and 156. As late as 1858, a plagiarized edition under the authorship of John George Wood, entitled The playground; or, the boy's book of games, further suggests the continuous popularity of the book. The book also appears as a publisher's advertisement in the text of a story by Mary Hughes, Pleasing and instructive stories for young children (London: William Darton, 1821), p. 6. Though it is a secular moral tale which is remarkably free of the over-powering piety typical of its time, the children are all too virtuous and too kind and thoughtful to be acceptable to the modern reader. Nevertheless it represents one of the earliest portrayals of ideas which were later to be incorporated in the concept of Muscular Christianity.

Dorothy Kilner, 1755-1836. First going to school; or the story of Tom Brown, and his sisters. London: Tabart, 1809. 1st publ., 1804, p. 108.

As this particular text aptly illustrates, Dorothy Kilner, who wrote innumerable stories for children under various pseudonyms, was less addicted to moralizing than her contemporaries. Nonetheless, on another occasion she relays an incident in which children's rough and boisterous behaviour results in one child falling into a well and drowning. Her story is interesting not only for the choice of the name of the hero Tom Brown (which was later to be used by Thomas Hughes in his popular classic Tom Brown's school days) but also for her view of games and pastimes which is more remindful of the teachings of Rousseau and the Philosophical Radicals than the Evangelical discipline to which she belonged. The first publication of this book and The book of games was by Tabart. A gifted story teller, she included one scene in which the riotous happiness of a family game of Tag is depicted. Furthermore, a radical idea is presented when Tom, finding such great pleasure in the pursuit of games at school, suggests to his sister that she wear more appropriate clothing so that she might also share his fun and learn the new game. Mrs. Trimmer held the Kilner stories in high regard, and advised mothers and grandmothers that they too might read them with pleasure. It is a smaller book than The book of games with only a few illustrations, all of which depict the games and pastimes of boys.

A nosegay for the trouble of culling; or sports of childhood. London: William Darton Jun., 1813. iv, 48. Illust. Attr. to Mary Elliott (Belson), 1794-1866.

An Evangelical, the author addresses herself on the title page to those good children who need not to be reminded about playing games on Sunday. This moral commentary covering thirty odd games and pastimes is probably best described as a picture book. Most of the illustrations depict boys, but the text presents a view similar to Dorothy Kilner's that girls can indeed enjoy the same games as their counterparts. The reader is gently informed that girls play Trap ball, Staggy Warner is too boisterous, Cricket is for those who seek fame, proud victors can be found at Football, Leap frog is not for fat boys and all should avoid a See-Saw temper.

James Parkinson, 1755-1824. Dangerous sports: A tale addressed to children warning them against wanton, careless or mischievous exposure to situations from which alarming injuries so often proceed. London: H.D. Symonds, 1800. vi, 183.

According to The dictionary of national biography, the author was the paleontologist and surgeon after whom Parkinson's disease was named. His medical interest in children was probably responsible for his practical views of safety in games and pastimes which were quite distinctive for the period. In this book the author consistently focused attention upon ignorance rather than the sin of disobedience or idleness as the cause of injury to children. Even though he has overloaded the text with dire warnings of the results of carelessness and ignorance for those who would pursue their games and pastimes foolhardily, the comment by one critic of children's literature that it is "a morbid little book" is hardly justifiable. In the annotation in The Osborne collection of early children's books. 1566-1910. A catalogue (Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 1966), p. 286. Judith St. John has said: "Though a book of advice and admonitions, it is written in a lively vein . . ." Parkinson believed that play is as necessary to youth as study, enthusiastically recommending hoop trundling and shuttlecock as beneficial to health. Another publication of this author was entitled The villager's friend and physician; or a familiar address on the preservation of health (1800), see The dictionary of national biography. But he warns without redress those who would not demonstrate thoughtfulness and self control in their choice of activity and manner of conduct. The aged but wise character, Milson, who was crippled and suffered the loss of a brother in a tree-climbing accident, carried on a dialogue with the children in the typical format of the time. While the story itself and the absence of illustration makes the book less attractive than others, it is unique in the information about prevention of injury which he sought to convey. His ideas were not pursued with similar fervour in later books on games for children.

Youthful recreations. Philadelphia: J. Johnson, ca. 1810 .
1st publ., 1801. Author unknown. Illust. p. 32 .

This publication is representative of a number of less important but popular illustrated books with accompanying commentary. The author clearly endeavoured to translate Locke's idea that children may enjoy instruction perpetually "if we have the art of mixing it with their bodily 'exercises' . . ." Mrs. Trimmer was

not impressed with the content and suggested ways in which it might be improved.

The little deserter; or, holiday sports; an amusing tale; dedicated to all good boys. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. ca. 1825. Author unknown. Illust., p. 65.

The author of this story offers insights into the nature of children's behaviour and their games not otherwise provided in the literature. There is a keen sense of simple imaginative enjoyment of adventure combined with realistic observation of the children's responses. It is a delightful tale of boys playing at soldiers and has a timelessness which makes it interesting for any bibliophile.

In school and out of school; or, the history of William and John. An interesting tale by one who knows both. London: Dean and Munday, 1827. Author unknown. Three illust., (one the death scene). p. 131.

This book is unquestionably the work of a devout Evangelical probably a minister. It is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating texts related to the theme of this study which has been located. The author portrayed a unique combination of events - the good boys having demonstrated their prowess and honesty in their games, were avoided by the idle nuisances of the playground, the half-day's cricket match was depicted with an air of excitement and anticipation for all concerned, and the "joyful" deaths of the two six year old heroes portrayed with all the lengthy soulfulness of the typical Janeway scenes of the seventeenth century. The element of piety which dominates the latter one third of the text is in marked contrast with the exuberance of the cricket match. A somewhat lengthy discourse is offered upon the motivations inherent in the concept of a holiday. These two verses are indicative of the author's views.

(i) How joyful and gay
We pass every day,
While o'er mountains of learning we're leaping:
But if you'd know why,
(The reason's hard by)
It's because of the holiday keeping.

and, in justification of holidays he wrote

- (ii) Good philosophers say,
 All work and no play,
 Is to sow without prospect of reaping;
 And if this is the case,
 With a very good grace
 We may all go a holiday keeping.

(p. 62). Overall the text provides an invaluable mingling of views on the pursuit of games and pastimes reflecting elements of all the four major movements of thought of the time. As with The book of games the author portrayed ideas later to be found in the Muscular Christian Movement.

John Ayrton Paris, Philosophy in sport. Made science in earnest! Being an attempt to illustrate the first principles of natural philosophy. London, 1852. 1st publ., 1827. Illust., p. 527.

Though this book is loaded with diagrams and its information is accurate, it is certainly one to be taken in small doses. It was apparently well thought of by parents but was not well regarded by children, possibly because the text pursues unremittingly the task of examining the laws of physics as they can be seen in their games and amusements. Through dialogue (the lolly-coated pill directed by the father to his eldest son, with the two sisters as onlookers) the basic kinetic principles are demonstrated. Scattered throughout the informative material are to be found gentle reminders to play fairly and to engage in active sports for health. The author brushes aside the romanticised Evangelical views, which he presents in the character of the local Vicar, that games and pastimes should be fun and might perhaps offer enjoyment to all ages, firmly stating that if the degree of mental exertion constitutes the difference between play and work then the definition would be violated simply by observing children at their games.

George Mogridge, 1781-1854. The boy's week-day book. 3rd ed.; rev., London: Religious Tract Society, 1836. 1st publ., 1833. viii, 232.

The religious intent of this publication is evident in the identification of the title to week days. Though the text is entirely devoted to games and pastimes in the out-of-doors, the author's repetitive expressions of the enjoyment gained from observations of children at their games and his perpetual reminders to them not to neglect their duty to God, become unbearable to the reader. These sentimental platitudes are unfortunate as Mogridge, a

superior athlete even as an older man, has considerable awareness of the qualities which make children good play-mates. However, as with a later publication, Sunny seasons of boyhood, his text is tiring and probably had a limited audience. The Religious Tract Society founded in 1799 later sought authors to publish stories acceptable to the society. This book is possibly one of the better products.

William Howitt, 1792-1879. The boy's country book: Being the real life of a country boy, written by himself; exhibiting all the amusements, pleasures and pursuits of children in the country. 2nd ed.; London: Longman, Orme et al., 1841. 1st publ., 1839. xi, 308. (Some illustrations).

In this wholesome autobiography, Howitt, who wrote several stories for boys, epitomized the nostalgia for the freedoms and pleasures of childhood common to the male society of the time. In comparison with the work of Mogridge, his descriptions of the pursuits in the village and rural countryside deal almost solely with the exhilaration of the experiences. Despite its popularity during his lifetime, the book seems to have vanished in the spate of school boy's stories which followed the turn of the century.

The encyclopaedic-type books typically entitled The book of sports for boys and girls (William Martin, viii, 144; 141); The boys' own book (William Clarke, p. 462); The little girls' own book (Lydia Child, p. 272); and the Girls' book of diversions (Eliza Leslie, xvi, 223) and written specifically for children to read made their appearance in the first half of the nineteenth century.

These books usually ran to several pages of Preface and over 250 pages of text, a half to a third of the content dealt with active games and pastimes. William Martin and William Clarke wrote several books which focused on the pursuit of games and pastimes. Though they sometimes included commentary on the conduct of the players, their main purpose was to inform children about games which they might play. Of all the books reviewed that were published initially in England, only that by William Martin included girls in the title. In fact, the games for girls which he listed were limited to indoor and essentially non-active pursuits. For this reason the comparable American publications by Eliza Leslie and Lydia Child on girls' games are particularly worthy of attention. Eliza Leslie had spent several childhood years in England and Lydia

Child was an eminent authority on child rearing practices and active in the abolitionist movement. Publications by Mrs. Child included The mother's book in 1832, renamed in a new edition in 1856, The moral, intellectual and physical training of the young explained. These women authors advised the girls to pursue the games and pastimes for health reasons. Editions of their books appeared in England immediately following their initial publication and continued in circulation there for the remainder of the century. In selecting appropriate material for inclusion the authors of these collections of games, combined the Philosophical Radical beliefs that childhood should be devoted to the absorption of information and the promotion of health and well-being. Their stated reasons raised the conflicting ideas that excessive learning created mental stress but children should be taught how to play their games.

B30177